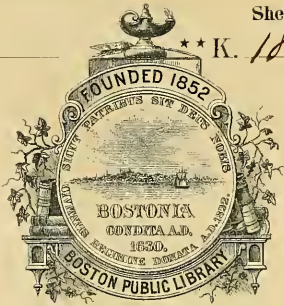


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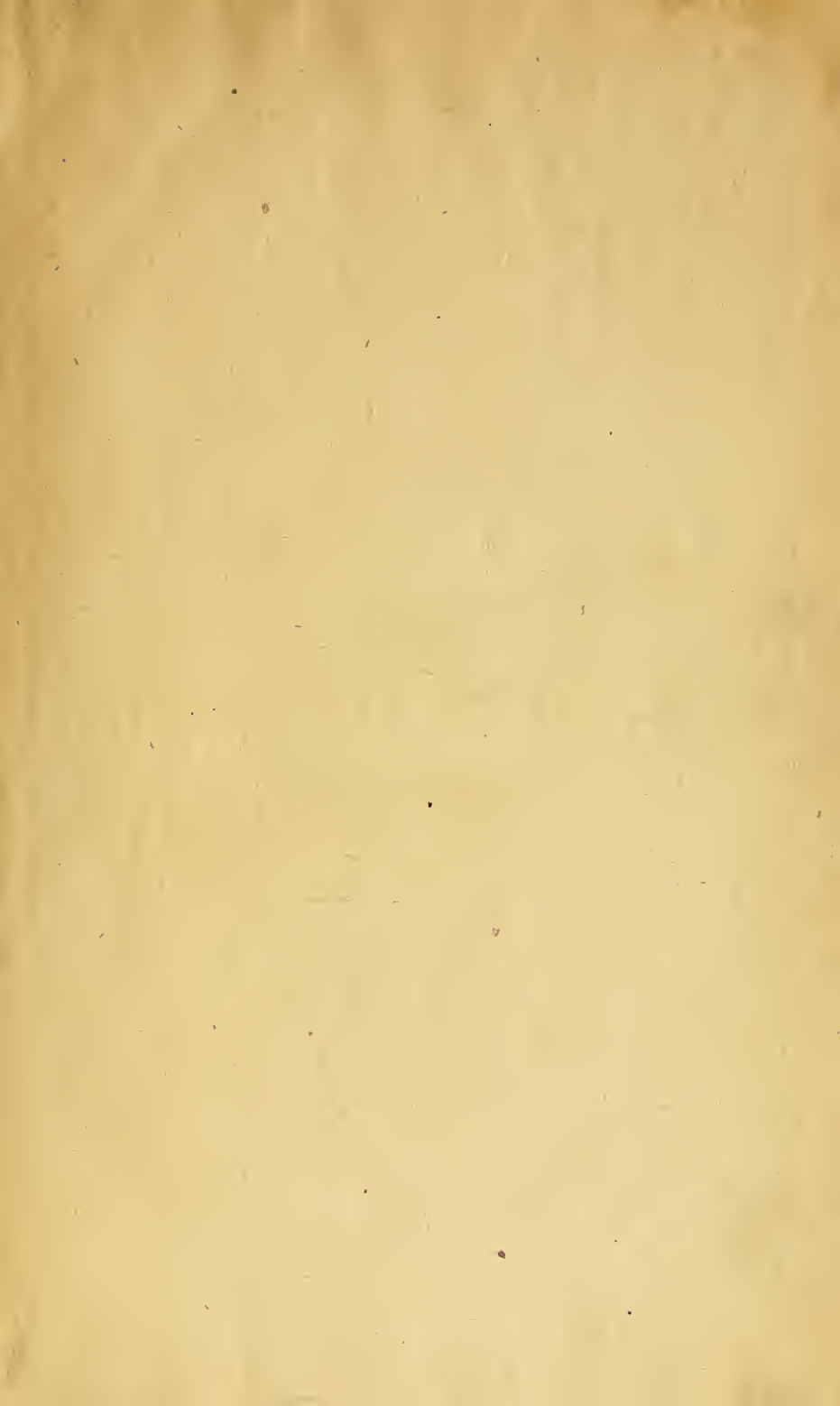


BEQUEST OF

Caroline Coddington Thayer

March 27, 1891.

W. H. & C. S. B. Boston





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LUSTRA LUDOVICI,
OR THE
Life of the late Victorious
King of FRANCE,
LEWIS
the XIII.
(And of his CARDINALL de Richelieu.)

DIVIDED
INTO SEVEN LUSTRES.

Consilium Armorum Cardo.

By JAMES HOWELL, Esq.



L O N D O N,
Printed for *Humphrey Moseley*; and are to be sold at his shop
at the Prince's Arms in *S. Pauls Church-yard*.
i 6 4 6.

THE LIFE OF THE LATE VICTORIOUS
EMPEROR OF THE EAST

LE WU
XIII

By the late
VICTORIOUS
EMPEROR OF THE EAST
LE WU
XIII

Printed by
the
Imperial
Press
at
Peking



G. G.

TO THE
GROVVING GLORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,

The hopes of our Crown, and the crown of our Hopes

Prince Charles,

*At his Court in Cæsaria, by vulgar contraction
called IERSEY.*

SIR,



Present your Highnes with the Life of
your Royal *Ouncle* of France, A success-
full and triumphant King both at home
and abroad throughout the whole course
of his Raign, and that, in so constant a
degree, as if *Fortune* herself had bin his
Companion, and *Victory*, his *Handmayd*: They attended
Him

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Him o're the *Alps*; They usher'd Him o're the *Pyreneys*; They were his Harbingers o're the *Rhine*, and they brought his horses to drink of the *Danube*; They were his Pilots at Sea, and they fill'd his sayles upon the Ocean, where he was incomparably more powerfull then all his Progenitors.

Nor would I adventure to expose thus to the present world, and transmit to future Ages the Reign of a *Forrein King*, had not I bin *Spectator* of divers of his exploits (and had occasion also to make my addresse to his *Cardinal*;) for the rest, I have labour'd to gather as faithfull instructions and authentic notes as I could, and those not upon loose trust or from light persons; The Relations, which are the ingredients of this Story, were not taken at the *Porters lodge*, but above staires, and most of them from the Counsell Table, and Courts of Parliament.

This Victorious King began to bear Arms and wear buff; about the same yeers that your Highnes did, for before he was thirteen, He suppress'd in person two Insurrections in *Poitou*, and *Britany*: He quell'd divers more, which at last turn'd to his advantage, as we find great trees growing towards their full consistence, corroborat and take firmer rooting being shaken with tempests, by the resistance they make: So by debelling so many civill commotions he came to finde his own strength the more, and to be fear'd as well as belov'd of his Subjects, and a mixture of these two passions make an excellent government; For though the strongest Citadell of a King be his Peoples love, and their hearts his best Exchequer, yet it is observ'd, that Love without Feare commonly turns to Scorn, and Fear without Love turns into Hatred. In the perusall of this Royal Story, if Your Highnes please to observe the circumstances and grounds of some intestine broyles, You shall find that divers of them have a neer analogie with these of England, for ma-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

ny grew from discontents, that the great *Convention of the three Estates was discontinued*, and that *France* adher'd to *Spanish Counsels*, with other resemblances besides; Of these and other kind of commotions there happen'd above ten in this Kings Raign: Nor is it any news to hear that *France*, hath such fits of distemper, or indeed any Countrey else, that labours with superfluous humors, I mean that swels with exces of people and plentie; for as the *Natural* body when it is too repleat must have some vent, just so, the *Political*, must have some Evacuations at home or abroad when it is too full, and t'will thrive the better upon't afterward. If we cast our eyes upon the great world we shall find restless motions, reluctations and combatings between the Elements; yet we cannot call this any incongruitie or disorder in the frame of things, but it tends to the conservation of the whole, and may be said to keep *Nature* herself in action and health; That the *Earth* trembleth, the *Sea* tumbleth, that the *Aire* is alwayes in agitation, that 'tis rent with thunder, coruscations, and other Meteorological impressions; that all the Elements are in an incessant feud, it is for the Vniversal good, and to keep things vigorous, and fresh; So in *Man* who is the *microcosm*, the *little world*, and made up of elements, there be passions and humors which are in perpetuall reluctance within him, and so break out into tumults, preliations, and war; And where this war is well grounded, 'tis wholsom, and the victories that are acquir'd thereby, are *Decreta Cali*, the *Decrees of Heaven*, but in an ill-grounded war they are no other then *Felicia Scelera*, *fortunat villanies*: Moreover, to transcend the Elements, if we mark the course of the *heavenly* bodies themselves, there are crosse motions amongst them, they are in perpetuall revolutions and circumgyrations, nay, there are branlings and *trepidations* amongst them, (which yet the wisest of Philosophers held to be no

other

The Epistle Dedicatory.

other then an harmonious sound, and sweet regular symphony,) And as the gran *Vnivers* runs thus alwayes round, and carryeth all bodies after it; So *Man*, who is part or rather the *Epitome* thereof, specially in reference to his actions, may be said to dance in a circle; For there is not any thing now acted, but may be parallell'd, and exemplified by some Age or other. Therefore among other excellent fruits of *Story* this is none of the least, *to put one off, from wondring at anything*, because he meets with precedents and patterns of all sorts in former times; He that wil observe how some of the great Roman Emperors were content to live in *Caprea* (a petty Island) how the Princes of Italy fled to the *Lakes* of Venice for safetie, how some of our Kings to the *Ile* of Man, how *Charles* the seventh had no other town to keep his Court in but *Bourges* in *Berry*, one of the smallest Provinces in all *France*, which made him call'd a good while *King of Berry*; with a world of such examples, will nothing wonder that your Highnes keeps his Court now at *Iersey*. Nor is this present *Story* a plain down-right confus'd narration of things, for to compile such a work, is as easie as to make fagots, or to trusse up a bundle of straw; but (besides other observations and excursions) that which the Author chiefly aymes at, is to make the *method of providence* in dispensing judgements, and to make a research of the causes of them *de longue main*, for they seldom come immediatly one upon another, but many yeers, and sometimes a whole age intervenes between the judgement and the cause.

Furthermore, I have bin carefull in this *Story* to vindicat *England* touching the circumstance of some traverses of *State* and *War*, twixt *Her* and *France*, during this Kings Raign, which are misreported by the French *Chroniellers*: there will be other censures found here besides, but this I have done as he *that kill'd the Serpent upon the childs head without touching his body*.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

It remains, that I implore your *Hignē's* pardon not for the *subject* of this work, because 'tis rich and *royal*, but for the *forme* thereof, if it be not found adæquat to the height of the *matter*, according to the desires and endeavours of

Your Hignē's most obedient

most loyal

and

most humble

servant

From the prison of the Fleet

this Midsummer day

1646.

H O V V E L L.

Historiæ

Historiæ Sacrum.

Immortal Queen, great Arbitresse of Time,
Bright torch, and Herald of all-conquering Truth,
Which things, yeers thousands pass'd kepst in their prime,
And so bear'st up the world in constant youth,
Making that Morn, Man first was made of clay,
Appear to us as fresh as yesterday :

Rich Magazin of Patterns, that may serve
As spurs to Vertue, or as curbs to Vice,
Which do'st brave men embalm, and them conserve
Longer then can Arabian gumms or spice,
And of their memory do'st Mummy make,
More firm then that hot Lybia's sands do cake ;

Rare Garden, and rich Orchard, wherein grow
Fame's golden apples, Honor's choicest flow'rs,
Which twistest ghirlands for the learned brow,
And with thy branches mak'st triumphant bow'rs ;
Inoculat this bud on thy great Tree,
That it may burgeon to Eternity.

I. H.

OF



OF THE LATE FRENCH

King and his CARDINAL.

The Proem.

I Attempt the life of a *potent* King, with the sway of a *prodigious* Favorite, for there are prodigies in *Fortune* as well as in *Nature*; If the *exploits* of the one, and the *policies* of the other were cast into counterbalance, I know not which of the scales would outpoise : Both of them have got high seats in the Temple of Immortalitie, and registred their names (though in deepe *sanguine* characters I confesse) in the great booke of *Fame*.

Concerning the first, As I disdain to be a Parasite to my owne Prince in any sordid way of flatterie, much more to a *forreiner* (though living;) so I shall be very carefull not to detract any thing from the honour of this great Prince, who had inhærencies enough, and realities of his owne, without need of any forc'd encomiums, or flourishes of art to render him glorious : And had the strength of naturall parts, and gift of expression been answerable to the successe and bravery of his outward actions; had his (theoricall) *knowledge* of vertue been equall to his *ignorance* of vice, he had been a miracle among Monarks.

For the second (his plenipotentiary *minister*) had he been as active for the universall good and incolumitie of Christendome, as he was for the interests and safety of his owne Countrey : Or had he been of another coat, and in lieu of being a *Priest*, *Bishop* and *Cardinal*; had he

The Proem.

he been *Knight, Baron and Marshall*, it had put a farre clearer lustre (though with lesse noise) upon his abilities, which were not common ; And he had the opportunity and advantage to shew them upon so high and open a theatre, that he made the whole European world his Spectator : Indeed a sword hangs not handsomly by a Churchmans side, and a *morriou* upon a *mitre* shewes ill-favouredly : But me thinks I heare this martiall Prelate passe it over, as Pope *Iulius* the second did upon like occasion, who having had a long feud with the Emperour *Frederick* (against whom he had fought twelve battels) and being one day gently admonish'd by the Archbishop of *Ostia* who had consecrated him (and whose peculiar jurisdiction it is to consecrate all Popes) how *S. Peter* his first predecessor was commanded to put up his sword, Tis true said *Iulius*, Our Saviour gave the prime Apostle such a command, but t'was after he had given the blow, and cut off *Malchus* eare.

So this adventrous Cardinall got out his Masters sword to cut off the excrescencies, and to loppe the luxuriant boughes of that broad-spreading *Austrian Tree*, fearing they would extend and shoot out into *France* ; As also to clip the wings of the *Imperiall Eagle*, who was in a faire way to recover some of his old feathers, I meane those *Hansatick* and other free Townes in Germanie, who had emancipated themselves time out of minde for money, and by other meanes from the Empire : But having not finish'd the worke, Both of them have left the weapon still unsheath'd, and dropping pittifully with Christian blood, and Heaven onely knowes, when it will be put up againe.

Now to proceede more regularly in my intended storie, I will begin with the *Monarch*, and then fall upon the *Minister*, it being consentaneous to reason, and congruous to good manners, that the Master should have prioritie of the Servant, though I am not ignorant how some mercenary Chroniclers would hoise the *Cap* above

the

the *Crowne*; They seeme to attribute the successe and glorie of things more to the *Minister*, praising him with greater industry and heat; They would cut his name in *marble*, and his Masters but in *freestone*: By a new *Astronomy* they make such a *Constellation* of him as should give a greater lustre in the French firmament, then the *Sunne* from whence he had deriv'd all his light: Others goe further, and seeme to idolatrize him, by calling him the *good Genius* and *tutelar Angel* of his Countrey, and that he was as *neccessarie* for the government of *France*, as *God Almighty* was for the *universe*: Nay some soare higher, and by monstrous parasiticall reaches of prophanenès would make the world believe that the Almighty had imparted unto him some of his own peculiar attributes, as to make him *omniscious*, *cardiagnostick*, and to worke without the concurrence of *second causes*; which made one futilous pamphleter fall into an egregious bull, while scruing up his wit to hoise him aloft, he call'd Him the person in the *Trinitie*.

fourth

Such Scriblers as these are a more sordide sort of Flatterers, then those we read of, who lick'd up *Dionysius* his spittle, and in my judgement are a scandall to the noble French nation; besides, they rather eclipse then illustrate his worth; for his very enemies confesse, that his merit had matter enough for modestie her selfe to work upon without such ridiculous hyperbolies, and forc'd transcendencies; For *Vertue* (whereof there shin'd in him many *eminent* pieces) is of her selfe so amiable and powerfull, that shee attracts all eyes upon her, and extorts praise and admiration from foe as well as friend. The truth is, that all those yeares this great minister sate at the helm, may be term'd a time of miracles, by that prodigious course of constant successe matters had abroad and at home, as if he had struck a nail in *Fortunes* wheele, that shee should not turne all the while.

Yet let me tell you, there wanted not those that writ as *satyrically* of him, as others did *sycophantically*, as will

The Proem.

appeare in his life ; for though his habit was in *grain*, yet there were many foul *spots* cast upon it, insomuch that the *Spaniard*, with other nations, thought it would never be fit to make reliques of, because it was so deeply drencht in blood ; Nay some of his owne Countrey-men, specially the poore face-grounded Peasan, doe much doubt whether he that was so much *deified* upon earth, will ever be a *Saint* in Heaven.

But now to the maine designe the life of *Lewis* the thirteenth, and to take him in all his proportions we will go first to his cradle, and begin with his nativitie and *Dauphinage* ; Then we will on to his *minoritie* or bassage ; and thence to his *majoritie* and raigne, and so our storie shall grow up with him in dimensions and yeares.

of

Of his Nativitie and Dauphinage.

Lewis the thirteenth (second French King of the Bourbon line) had for his father Henry the great, and the great Duke of Toscanies daughter for his mother; The first we know was sent out of the world by *Ravaillac*, the second by *Richelieu*, as some out of excess of passion doe suggest: For this great Queene having conceived a deep displeasure, and animositie against him, and not liking his counsels, and course of policy to put quarrels, and kindle a war betwixt her children, in a high discontentment she abandon'd France, and so drew a banishment upon her selfe, which expos'd her to divers encumbrances, removes and residences abroad, and this some thinke accelerated her end: For *great spirits have this of fastnesse and constancie in them, that where their indignation is once fixed, for having their counsels cross'd, their authoritie lessen'd, and the motions of their soules resisted; they come oftentimes to breake, rather then bow: As we see the huge Cedars, who, scorning to comply with the windes and stormes, fall more frequently; then the Willow and poore plying Osier, who yeeld and crouch to every puffe. But to our chiefe taske.*

When the sixteenth Christian centurie went out, *Lewis* the thirteenth came into the world, and he began the seventeenth, being borne in the yeere sixteene hundred and one, about the Autumnall *Equinoctiall*, which was held to be a good presage, that he would prove a good *Justicer*: The Queene had a hard delivery, her body having beene distemper'd by eating of fruit too freely, so that when the Midwife brought him forth to the King, and to the Princes of the blood in the next roome, who, according to the custome of France, use to be present for preventing of foule play for an Heire apparant of the Crown, his tender body was become black and blue with roughnesse of handling, and the Midwife thinking to have spouted some wine out of her mouth into his, the King tooke the bottle himselfe, and put it to the Dauphins lips, which reviv'd his spirits. His publique Baptisme was not celebrated till five yeers after at *Fontainebleau* because the plague was in *Paris*, and the solemnitie was greater in preparation and expectance, then it was in performance. The King would have had him nam'd *Charles*, but the Mother overrul'd, and gave the law in that point, and would have him called *Lewis*. *Paul* the fifth was his godfather notwithstanding that the Spanish faction did predominate in the Conclave at his election, which happen'd about the time the *Dauphin* was borne: And the French Ambassadour then at Rome meeting with the Spanish, at *Saint Angelo*, and telling him *Il mio Rè hà fatto un maschio*, my King hath made

a sonne: The Spanish Ambassadour answer'd, & *il mio Rè há fatto un Papa*, and my King hath made a Pope.

It seemes that Mercury the father of eloquution, and who hath the powerfullest influence ore the tongue, was oppressed by a disadvantageous conjunction with a more prædominate planet at his birth, which appear'd by that naturall slownesse he had in his speech, as *Lewis* the sixt his predecessor (and last Emperour of the six French Kings) had. But a rare thing it was, and not to be paralleld in any age, that two of the greatest Kings of Europe, I meane the Dauphin we now write of, and His Majesty of England now regnant, should come both into the world within lesse then ten moneths compasse, the one in November, the other in September next following; I say a most rare thing it was that it should so fall out, that as they were contemporaries in yeares and raigne, the same kinde of utterance should be coincident and connaturall to them both, though the hæitation be lesse in *Him* of November: Besides, it seemes he is richly requited with the advantage of an incomparable imperious pen, wherein nature joyning hand with Art, hath made him so rich a compensation, that he may well claime the palme of all his progenitors.

But now againe to our Infant Dauphin, which the English with other call *Dolphin* commonly, but very corruptly; for 'tis not from a fish, but a faire Province that he derives this appellation the very instant he comes into the world; the ground whereof was this. *Humbert* last Dauphin of Viennois having lost his eldest sonne in that famous battaile of *Crecy* against the English, and his tother sonne having died of a fall from betwixt the Fathers armes as he was dallying with him; The said *Humbert* being oppressed by the Duke of *Savoy* and others, transmitted and bequeathed as free gift the brave Province of *Dauphinè* unto *Philip* of *Valois* then King of France, with this proviso that his eldest sonne (and so of all successive Kings) should beare the title of Dauphin to perpetuity during their fathers lives, holding it, as he did and his progenitors had done, in fee of the Empire.

This was the sixteenth *Dauphin* since the first, who was *Charles* the wife in the year 1349. whereby I observe that the precedent title of the presumptif Heire of the Crowne of France, is not so ancient by halfe a hundred of yeares, as the title of *Prince of Wales* to the Heire apparant of England, which begun in *Edward* the firsts time, who conferred that honour upon his sonne *Edward*, of *Caernarvon* 1301. But this title of *Dauphin* seemes to have a greater analogie with the Dukedome of Cornwall, which title was confer'd first upon the black Prince, because this as that of Dauphin needs no creation, for *ipsisimo instante*, the very moment that any of the King of Englands sons come to be Heire apparant of the Crowne, he is to have liverie and seisin given him of the Dutchy of Cornwall, with all the honours and lands annexed for his present support.

Touching those publike passages of State that happened during the *Dauphinage* of *Lewis* the thirteenth, while *Henry* the fourth lived,

we will nor meddle with them, because we would not confound the actions of the father with those of the sonne; He was educated with that speciall care and circumspection wherewith the *Dauphins* of France are wont to be bred, as also with that freedome from overmuch awe, and apprehensions of feare, which is observed in the French breeding generally, because the spirits may not be suppressed and cowed while they are ductible and young, and apt to take any impression: He was not much taken with his booke, nor any sedentary exercise, but with pastimes abroad, as shooting at flies and small hedge birds, to which end his Father put to him *Luynes* who had many complacentious devices to fit his humour that way, for which petty volatill sports he *sawd* at last to the highest pitch of honour that a French subject could tie unto, for of a gentleman in *decimo sexto*, he was made Duke, Peer, and Lord high Constable of all France; But he had the advantage to have the managing of his masters affection while it was green and pliable, and he did it with such dexterity, that those stamps which he made upon it then, continued firme and fresh to the last, as will appeare hereafter.

And now must we passe from his *Dauphinage* to his minoritie, his Father being now defunct; And tis a sad tale to relate the manner how his Father was forced out of the world, but told it must be, because it is a necessary appendix to our storie.

There was gentle calm through all Christendome, and France had not the least share of it, having continued *twenty* yeares together in a constant repose without the least tintamar or motion of arms (a rare thing amongst so *spritsfull and quicksilverd* people to whom peace becomes a surfet any longer then they have pickt up their crumbs for a new warre) I say there was a *catholick* peace throughout Europe, when *Henry* the fourth of France would needs get a horseback upon a great martiall designe, which was a myserie for the time, for all men stood at a maze what he meant, the businesse was carried so closely; whereupon he raifeth a potent Armie of horse and foot.

But behold the greatest example of the lubricity and instablenes of mundane affaires, and of the sandie foundation whereon the highest pomp and purposes of men are ground, that any age can parallell; For this great King, as I told a little before, having a most potent and irresistible armie compos'd of 40000. combatants, all choise men, led by veteran Commanders, and the most expert Europe could afford, in a perfect equipage; Having also a mount of gold as high as a lance estimated at sixteene millions to maintaine this armie; Having assured his Confederates abroad, settled all things at home, causd his Queene to be crownd in the highest magnificence that could be, and appointed her Regent in his absence, behold this mighty King amongst these triumphs of his Queens, being to go next day to his armie, when his spirits were at the highest elevation, and his heart swelling with assurances rather then hopes of succeffe and glory, going one afternoone to his Arsenal, he was stopd in a small street, by so

contemptible a thing as a colliers cart, and there from amongst the armes of his owne Nobles, he was thrust out of the world by one of the meanest of his owne vassals, who with a prodigious hardinesse putting his foot upon the coach wheelles, reachd him over the shoulders of one of his greatest Lords, and stabd him to the very heart, and with a monstrous undauntednesse of resolution making good his first stab with a second, dispatchd him suddenly from off the earth, as if a mousfe had strangled an elephant.

-----*Sic parvis pereunt ingentia rebus.*

The French stories speake of divers auguries and predictions of his death; But I will insert here a passage or two that are not found in any printed Author, therefore not vulgar, and our intent is to refrain from stuffing this piece with any thing that hath bin too much blown upon; The first is a prophecie in an Italian manuscript from a good hand, written above an hundred yeares since, which runnes thus. *Vn gran Ré di Francia havendo le spalle al Papa voltate, s' inchinera poi a Roma, & al piu alto della sua gloria*

*Li taglierá la vita,
Vn coltel feroce,
Che n'andarà la voce
Per tutto'l mundo.*

Thus rendred into English.

*A great French King, having his face
Turn'd from the Pope, shall then embrace
The Roman Faith, but after, He
At highest pitch of Majesty
Shall by a fatall knife be rent,
To all the worlds astonishment.*

23 To this may be added the speech of *Francisco Corvini* a Toscan Astrologer, who the night before *Henry* the fourth was slaine leaning upon a Balcon in Florence, which is neer upon 600. miles from Paris, and prying into the motions of the starres, he suddenly broke out of his speculation into these words; *To morrow one of the greatest Monarchs of Christendome will be slaine*; And the very next day the mortall stab was given by *Ravaillac*, who had been seen often a little before at *Brussels*, and was observd to have frequent acceffe, and much privacie with *Marquis Spinola*, which many wondred at being so plaine a man; A melancholy odde Humorist he was, one who had at times some flashes of illuminations, as his friends gave out: *Now, such is the strength of imagination, and force of fancie, that having let in false ideas into the braine, and being fomented by some fatuous Zeale, it hurles a man headlong oftentimes upon desperate attempts, and undertakings of inevitable danger, making him misprize his owne life, so that he may be master of anothers, especially when the enterprize is heated with hope of fame, revenge, or merit.*

Thus fell one of the complearest Kings under which the flower de luces ever flourishd, a sprightfull and well tempred Prince, excellently versd in the studie of men, alwayes well disposd, pleasant and wittie,

wittie, close in his counsels, and constant in his purposes, parsimonious, yet open handed to Cadets whom he lov'd to see about him rather then elder brothers whom *nature* had already advanced. And lastly (though this be but a quarter character of him) a great discernier and rewarder of worth and vertue, a brave qualitic and one of the prime requisits in a King; for subjects are industrious, or dissolute, they aspire to vertue and good parts according as their Prince hath judgement to distinguish and value their worth, and so to employ and advance them. The memory of this King is yet as fresh in France, as if he had been ta'ne away but yesterday, and his death was resented abroad as well as at home, being universally honour'd by all nations, for the worst that his very enemies reported of him was, that he was a great Courtier of Ladies, whereupon this petulant Anagram was made of him.

Henricus Borbonius.

Hircus in orbe bonus.

But take the aspiration away (and with it let the asperision go) this befits him better.

Cyrus in orbe bonus.

Having spoken this little of the Fathers *death*, tis time now to returne and pursue the *life* of the Sonne, and bring him to his *minoritie*; yet though a *Minor*, he is absolute King, He is already *regnant*, though his mother be *Regent*: And in regard method is a mighty advantage to memorie; and that the Logician gives us a good Rule, *Qui bene dividit, bene docet*; A good Divider makes a good Disciple: we will make a quinquenniall partition of his raigne, we will divide it to so many lustres of yeares, and in the first his *minoritie* shall be included.

The first lustre (or five yeares) of Lewis the thirteenth's raigne, and of his Minoritie.

THough the Sun was thus set in a dark *ruddy* cloud in the French firmament, yet no night ensued, for another suddenly riseth up, and shoots his rayes through every corner of that part of the hemisphere, King *Lewis the thirteenth*. The season that he began thus to display his early beames, being the moneth of *May*, corresponded with the verdant time of his age, being not yet full nine yeares old, so he was cradled first in the *Fall*, and came to the crowne in the *Spring*.

The report of the monstrous parricide committed on the person of *Henry the fourth* did penetrate all hearts, and made a strange kinde of consternation to seise upon the minds of men, though it was no new thing in France to have their King torn away from them so, for it was fresh in the memorie of many thousands how two and twentie yeares before *Henry the third* was dispatch'd in that manner, though the Assassin found his tombe in the very place where he did perpetrate the fact. The Court of Parliament suddenly met that afternoon and declared Dame *Mary de Medici* Queene *Regent*, which was the next day confirmed by the young King himselfe sitting on the bed of

Anno
1610.

Iustice. This was done without any opposition or scruple at all, for King *Henry* had design'd her for *Regent* before, during his absence in the *warres*, and the reverence that all had to the judgement of so wise and welbelov'd a King advantag'd the worke, with a favourable conjuncture of some other circumstances, for both the Princes of the blood were then absent, the Count of *Soissons* was farre up in the Countrey where he had retir'd not without some discontentments, The Prince of *Conde* was in Italy, to whom an expresse was suddenly sent, but the Count of *Fuentes* then Governour of *Milan* had given him the newes before of King *Henries* death, and as some say, labour'd to infuse into him some aspiring thoughts for the Protectorship, and so to embroyle France, which tooke no effect; There were also two great armies afoote, one under *L'esdiguieres* in Dauphine, the other under the command of the Duke de *Nevers* in Champany, ready to suppress any insurrection.

The Queen mother being thus establish'd in her Regency, shee put three things in present consultation:

1. The securitie of the Kingdome.
2. A satisfaction to Iustice for the Assassinat.
3. The obsequies of the dead King.

For the first, it was thought fitting to re-publish the Edict of *Nans* in favour of them of the Religion.

And now the Author craves leave to give this advertisement by the way, that though his intent be to draw (as well as he can) the Acts of this King to the life, yet the Reader must not expect to have them here in their full length, and in all their dimensions; He must not thinke to finde Edicts, Declarations, Articles of Treaties, Letters and such like in their entire bodies here, He leaves that to the French Chroniclers, such publike exemplarie precedents being more proper and usefull to the people who live under that government, yet, care will be had to insert here the substance of all such acts, and not to pretermitt any thing that is materiall, and conducing to the exactnesse of the storie.

The first act of State, as I said before, was the reviving of the Edict of *Nans* to content them of the Religion, who after the King are the powerfulllest bodie in France, having so many strong presidarie townes for their securitie, insomuch that they may be said to be a kinde of *Republike* in a *Realme*; yet France receives this advantage of them, that they are a meanes to keepe the King more narrowly within his bounds, and make him more cautious in his actions; They may be said to be like goats among sheepe, whose smell keeps them from the shakings and other diseases, so they keep the regall power from excesses. In the Declaration wherein the foresaid Edict was incorporated, there was also some clauses of compliance that reflected upon the Citie of Paris, which was also to be pleas'd: Then the Princes of the blood were invited, and expresses sent for them to come to the Court, Governours of provinces were permitted to remain still in their

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their commands, and divers other acts of compliances and policie pass'd, for prevention of discontentments, and insurrection.

Concerning the second which was a satisfaction to *Justice*, and how *Ravaillac* should be offer'd up as a victim to *her*, much paines were taken; At his first examination they would have perswaded him that the King was not dead but like to recover, whereat he smil'd saying, that he knew well enough the worke was done, *for 'twas not he, but the hand of heaven that had don't*; Then being ask'd how he durst embue his hands in the bloud of Gods anointed, the most Christian King, and his Soverain naturall Prince; at the word *most Christian* he smild again in a sleighting manner: Being search'd there was found about him a paire of beads, and a heart made of cotton with a piece of wood in't, which he was made to beleieve was a part of that very crosse whereon Christ suffer'd. All meanes imaginable were essayed to make him discover if he had had any instigators or complices in this infandous plot, but he still answerd positively, and constantly he had none at all, saying, he durst never speake of it to his Confessor for feare of discovery, for so he might have bin punish'd for the will, without the deed; yet a Iesuite and a Cordelier who were his ghostly fathers were strictly examin'd, but nothing could be had out of them; Hereupon there rose a nice question amongst the Divines, *whether the Priest be bound to reveale the confession of his penitent*, but 'twas onely propounded and so left problematicall and undecided for that time.

Every one did whet his invention to devise some exquisite lasting torment for *Ravaillac*; The Butchers of Paris, who are habituated in bloud, propos'd a way to slay him, and the torture of excoriation should continue three daies; Others gave the draught of an instrument in form of an Obelisk where he might be press'd, and the torment should last a long time; Others found out a way to have his body cut quite off, from his hips downward, and his bowels to be clap'd presently upon a hot yron plank, which should preserve the other halfe of the body in pangs of agonie a long while: But the court of Justice thought it not fit to invent, or inflict any other punishment upon him but what the *lawes* allowed; therefore he was condemn'd to be carried in a tombrell naked in his shirt with a flaming torch of two pound weight in his hand to the common place of execution, where holding the knife wherewith he had perpetrated that most abominable parricide, his hand should be first pierc'd with the said knife, and so to be burn'd with fire of sulphur upon the stage: That he should have buskins fill'd with boyling oile applyed to him, That he should be pincer'd in the paps, thighes and braun of the legs, and that boyling lead should be powr'd into the one, burning rozin into the other, and wax melted with sulphur into the third; That his body should be torn afterwards by horses, all his members burn'd, reduc'd to cinders, and thrown into the aire; That the House where he was borne in *Angonlesme* should be raz'd to the ground, and that none presume to build upon that piece of earth; That within fiftene daies after the publication

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tion of this sentence, his father and mother should quit the kingdom, and never return; that his brothers, sisters, uncles and others should never afterwards beare the name of *Ravaillac* under paine of being hang'd and strangled.

This dismall sentence was executed to the very height of torture, and extended to the utmost length of time, affection of sense, and possibility of nature, for there were waies invented to keepe him from syncops and fits of swoounding: Before, at the beginning, and in the midst of all his torments there could be no other confession extorted out of him, though he was sifted with all the sagacitie that could be, but that the motives which impell'd him to such a desperate attempt, were certaine *revelations*, that he said he had had, which he afterwards call'd *temptations*; And that he thought he should do a work acceptable to God, to take away a King that was a Favourer of Heretiques, who went about by the armie he had then afoote to perturb the peace of the Catholike church, and make warre against the Pope. The people in generall did love the deceased King so passionately, that nothing but imprecations and curses could be heard ecchoing from them, so that none did pray with him when he was upon the scaffold for the salvation of his soule, and for his body, when it was torne by the horses; happie was he that could get any piece of it, so that he was burnt in more then twenty places up and downe the Citie in severall fires; so Nemesis had her glut.

Ravaillac being thus extinguish'd, and as it were annihilated, the next care of the Queene was to give rites of buriall adæquate to so glorious a King. His heart the Iesuites had, for he had promis'd them to be depositaries and guardiens of it in his life time, notwithstanding that one of their Societie had once attempted to murder him; so in extraordinarie pomp his heart was carried to *la Flecle*, and his bodie to *Saint Denis*; And *Henry* the third who had layn all the while at *Compeigné*, was sent for to beare him companie; so that as they had the like destinie in their death, so they came to take their last lodgings the same time in *Saint Denis*, whither, they say no French King went with his good will.

The latter of the two, whom we will call hereafter *Henry* the great (that title being entayl'd upon him by the universall suffrage of all) was condol'd with farre more regret then the former, and divers to this houre weare a constant anniverfarië mourning for him that day he was kill'd; Amongst others her Majestie of great *Britain* continueth it, who was then a cradle-infant, and *Barberino* at that time Nuncio in France (and after created Pope by the name of *Urban* the eighth) comming to congratulate her birth, and finding that the Queen mother had bin better pleas'd if she had borne a male; He told her, Madame, *I hope to see this, though your youngest daughter a great Queene before I die*, the Queene answer'd, *And I hope to see you Pope*; both which prophetick complements prov'd true, and within a short time one of another.

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A litle after *Ravaillac*, was burn'd also the great Spanish Jesuit *Mariana*, I mean his Book *de Rege & Regis institutione*, wherein he holds that a Tyrant or Hereticall Prince may be made away by violent meanes; Moreover by the same arrest of Parliament, the Colledg of *Sorbon* was commanded to publish their ancient Decree passed by one hundred fortie one Doctors of the sacred *Faculty* of Theology in the year 1413. which was confirm'd two years after by the famous Counsell of *Constance*, viz: *That it is not lawfull to any, for what cause whatsoever, to attempt any thing upon the sacred persons of Kings, and Soverain Princes.* Which doctrin and solemn Decree was then published to quell and confound that execrable position which was than dogmatiz'd, and broach'd up and down, viz: *That a Tyrant whosoever he be, may and ought to be lawfully, and meritoriously kill'd by his own vassall or subject whosoever he be, and by that any means whatsoever, principally by secret ambushes, treasons, flatteries, or other such wayes, notwithstanding any faith or oth whereby the subject is oblig'd to such a Tyrant, &c.* Which tenet being then pronounced pernicious and hereticall, impious and diabolical by the said Colledg and Counsell, was now also by 150 choice Theoloques of the said Family adjudg'd to be an error against the holy Catholic faith, and the fundamentalls of morality, opening a gap to rebellion; and atheisme, to a violacion of all bonds of humane obedience, and government, and tended to bring confusion, and a Hell upon Earth.

The *Jesuits* were murmur'd at, as Fautors of the foresaid opinion of *Mariana*, whereupon *Cotton* (then Preacher to the King) publish'd a declaratory letter to vindicat their Society, and shew their conformity of Doctrin to the foresaid Decree of the Counsell of *Constance*, in which letter he protested in the name of the rest, that, that opinion of *Mariana* was a particular fancy of his own, and so to be restrain'd to his person only; That it is so disapprov'd and exploded by their Society, that some of them have compil'd, and expos'd to the open world sundry Treatises in confutation of it, and condemn'd it in two Provincially Congregacions held in *Paris* and *Lion* in the year 1606. where their Reverend General *Claudius Aquariva* was present, and there the Soverain puissance, and authority of Kings was acknowledged, and in temporal matters to hold soly of God himself; The substance of Father *Cottons* declaratory Letter tended all to this effect, though it gave not so full a satisfaction to all men. This was that *Cotton* who was so much favor'd by *Henry the Great*, which gave him occasion to Answer certain Deputies of *Rochel* upon a petition they once presented unto him, *That he could not bear them then, for his cares were stopp'd with Cotton*, whereupon was made this Epigram of Him.

*Quand le Roy fait ses pas,
Pere Cotton l'accompagne;
Mais le bon Prince ne scait pas,
Que le fin Cotton vient d'Espagne.*

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Thus English'd, *When the King abroad doth walk,*
Father Cotton finds him talk,
But the good Prince doth not attain,
That the fine Cotton com's from Spain.

The formidable Army which Henry the great had rais'd, was now disbanded by command, and only 12000. kept still a foot in Champagne which were reserv'd to assist the German Princes, who were then in motion of armes upon this occasion. William Duke of *Fuillers* and *Cleves* being dead without Heir male, the right of succession was debated by other Princes his allies; but the Emperour alledging that the Duchy of *Fuillers* was a fief moving of the Empire, invested *Leopold* his Cousin german in the possession of it, who by armed hand seiz'd upon the town and castle of *Fuillers*. The opposit Princes having besieg'd him there, sent to France for help: Hereupon *Marshall de la Chastre* march'd with those 12000. Auxiliaries, and his conjunction with the other Princes was so fortunat that *Fuillers* was rendred up upon composition to the Duke of *Newburg*, and Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, but with this proviso that the Roman Religion should still have free exercise there.

This relief of *Fuillers* was the first forren act that happen'd in the reign of *Lewis* the thirteenth, and the expedition was intended before by his father.

Although in succesif hereditary Kingdomes (as *France* and *England*, where the law sayeth *the King never dieth*) the act of Coronation be not so absolutely necessary, as to appertain to the essence of the thing, yet hath it bin used as a ceremony not superfluous for the satisfaction of the people: Hereupon there were great preparations made for the crowning, and the anointing of the young King with the holy oyle, which is kept alwayes in the town of *Rheims* in a little vial; and the French saith is, That it is part of the same oyle wherewith *Clouis* (who was the first Christian King of France converted by his wife above 1000. yeers since) was anointed, and that a Dove brought down in her beak the said vial into the Church, and so vanish'd, which oyl they say continues fresh and sweet, and without diminution to this day; The said vial was once caried away by the English, but it was recovered by the inhabitants of *Povilleux*, for which they enjoy divers priviledges to this day. This ceremony of Coronation in France is a very soleinn thing and continues above eight houres long, without intermission. The twelve *Peers* are the chiefeft Actors in it, whereof there are six Spiritual, and six Temporal; the last six have now no being in France but only in name: For they ought to be the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Normandy*, and *Aquitain*, the Earls of *Tholouse*, *Flanders*, and *Champagne*, all which are represented by Deputies in this act: One of the first circumstances in this ceremony is, that two Bishops come and knock in the morning at the Kings Bed-chamber dore, the Great Chamberlain asks them *what they would have*, they answer, *Lewis the thirteenth*

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thirteenth son to Henry the Great; The Lord Chamberlain replies, He sleeps. The Bishops a while after knock gently again, and demand *Lewis the thirteenth whom God had given them for their King*; So the dore opens, and he is caried in solemn procession to the great Church. At the communion he takes the *bread* and the *wine*, to shew that his dignitie is *Presbyterial*, as well as *Regal*; The Parisians are bound to provide certain birds, which are let loose that day up and down the Church, whereof one was observ'd to sit and sing a great while upon the canopy that was caried over the Kings head, which was held to be an auspicious augury: Grace before and after diner, is sung before him, and the sword is held naked all the while, with a multitude of other ceremonies: The King seeming to be tyred having bin so many hours in the Church, and born the crown on his head, with divers other heavy vests upon his body, was ask'd what he would take to take the like pains again? he answer'd, *for another Crown I would take double the pains.*

The King and Queen Regent being return'd to *Paris*, the scene where the last act of this pomp should be perform'd, before the triumph was ended there was a dash of water thrown into their wine, by news that was brought of an insurrection that was in *Berry* by *Florrimond de Puy Loid of Vatan*, who undertook to protect certain Salt Merchants by arms, which he had leavied, but he was quickly suppress'd, and his head chop'd off, divers of his complices hang'd and strangled: This was the first flash of domestic fire that happen'd in the reign of *Lewis the thirteenth*, which was the more dangerous, because the said Lord of *Vatan* was of the Religion, and 'twas fear'd the whole body of them would have abetted him.

There arise a little after two ill-favour'd contentions twixt Churchmen which kept a great noise for the present; One was of the *Jesuits*, who presented a remonstrance to the Court of Parliament, that by vertu of an Edict of *Henry the Great*, 1611. they might be permitted to open their Colledg of *Clermont* for the instruction of youth, and to erect Classes for the public Lecture of the Sciences in a scholary way: The Rector of the Universitie seconded by the Sindic of Sorbon with the whole body of Academiks oppos'd it mainly; The first thing the Court ordred was, that the Jesuits should subscribe to a submission and conformitie to the Doctrin of the Sorbon Schoole in these foure points.

1. That the Pope hath no power over the temporalls of Kings, and that he cannot excommunicat them, or deprive them of their Kingdoms.
2. That the Counsell is above the Pope.
3. That the Ecclesiastiques are subject to the Secular and Politic Magistrat.
4. That auricular Confessions ought to be reveal'd which concern the State; and lifes of Kings and Soverain Princes.

All which Propositions tended to the maintenance of royal authoritie, the conservation of the sacred persons of Kings, and the liberties

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of the *Gallie* Church. The Jesuit shrunk in their shoulders at this motion, so one in the name of the rest answer'd, that amongst their Statuts there was one which oblig'd them to follow the rules and laws of those places where they were; therefore they could not promise their *General* would subscribe to the foresaid propositions, but their *Provincial* in France should do it with the whole Colledge of *Clermont*, which was done accordingly; yet the Parliament could never be induc'd to passe a Decree whereby they might be authorized to open their Colledge in Paris for the education of youth; though afterwards the King and Queen Regent by sole advise of the Counsell of State, notwithstanding the opposition of Parliament, and Universitie pass'd an Edict in their favour: And this was done out of pure reason of State, for the world knows what dangerous instruments Jesuits are, if offended.

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The other scuffle amongst Church-men was of a greater consequence which was thus. The *Jacobins* (who are the chiefeft order of preaching Friars) have a generall Chapter every three years in Paris; This convention happen'd this year, and divers Teners were propounded there; One amongst the rest was, *That in no case the Counsell is above the Pope*. There sate in this Assembly many eminent persons as the Cardinal of *Perron*, the Popes Nuncio, with divers other great Prelats; There were also some Presidents of Courts there, and Counsellors, and the Provost of Paris: Amongst others *Harquevill* President in the great Chamber of Parliament at the debatement of the said *thesis*, stood up and averr'd that it was *heretical*; whereat the Nuncio was offended, and after some heat of argument *pro* and *con*, Cardinal *Perron* took the word, and said, that this controversie being not of *Faith*, it might be lawfull for them tother side the Alps to hold it *affirmative*, and for those of this side, *negative*, but to condemn one another *positively* thereupon, was to bring a *schisme* into the Church. Great was the confusion and clashings that grew out of this: Till *Morelles* a Spaniard who sate in the chaire stood up, and protested that this position was propounded only as *problematicall*, without deffsein to determin any thing thereupon. Another enlarg'd himself further, saying, that they tother side the *Hils* have their reasons for the *affirmative* part, and others for the *negative*. The French acknowledged sufficiently the hierarchy of the Church, and in consequence of that they receive the Decrees and Ordinances of the Vicar of Christ in every thing that concerns spirituall matters, points of Faith, and policy Ecclesiastic: They make their addressees to him for dispensations to hold incompatible benefices, to be promoted to Prelacy or other dignities being not of age, for degrees of kinred and affinity in marriages; They hold with all *Antiquity* that it belongs to the Pope to indict oecumenical and universal Counsels, to approve, ratifie, and authorize their Decrees; and in *this sense* the Pope may be said to be above the Counsell: But if the Pope should under pretext of spirituall jurisdiction attempt to enervat, and lessen the temporal power of Kings, which they hold immediatly and soly from the great God, it

is then lawfull for them to appeal to a generall Counsell; And in *this* sense the Counsell may be said to be above the Pope.

Richer the Syndic of Sorbon was hottest of any that assisted in this dispute for the *negative* part, and writ a book entitled *de Ecclesiastica et Politica Potestate*, which was condemn'd by the solemn censure of Cardinal *Perron*, and sundry other great Prelats who held a Congregation purposely about it, but with this modification, provided, that the rights of the King and Crown of France with the immunities and enfranchisements of the *Gallican* Church be not prejudic'd: But they condemn'd the Syndiks Book, because he went about to turn the *Hierarchy* of the Church, which is a *Monarchy*, into an *Aristocracy*.

Richer was thrust out of his Sindichip for the said book, though directly against the Statuts of the Colledg of *Sorbon*, whercof one is, that no Syndic be dispossest of that place but with his own free will: And thinking to plead this, the Counsell of State overrul'd the case, and a Mandamus came in the Kings name to proceed in the Election of a New Syndic. There issued also out a Declaration, wherein the King sharply reprehends the congregating of the said Bishops without his royal Commission, and for passing a generall, extravagant and incertain censure of the said Book; wherein they seem'd to rebuke, and approve; confirm and condemn the tenets thereof, whereof most were Orthodoxal; which tended to puzzle the brains of men, and form scrupulous imaginations in their intellectuals, whence might ensue dangerous consequences.

Thus those high contentions were hush'd which were like to have usher'd a shrewd schisme into the *Gallic* Church, had not Moderation guided the helm; *Moderation that sage sober Matron, the inseparable attendant of true Sapience, and Policy, and happy are those Counsels, those Sovereign Courts and Parliaments where she sits in the chaire.*

This yeer 1612. was remarkable for the interchangeable Alliance that was made twixt France and Spain, the French King being affianced to the Infanta *Anne of Austria*; and the Prince of Spain (now *Philip* the fourth) to the Eldest daughter of France *Madame Elizabeth of Bourbon*; The great Duke of *Mayn*, great in constitution as in qualitie; being one of the goodliest personages of Europe, was employed Ambassador to Spain. He made his entrance to Madrid with 245. sumpter Mules, 50. household Officers came after, two by two, and 52. Pages with a querry before them, and their Governor behind. Then followed the Duke himself accompanied with the Prince of *Tingry*, 7. Earls, 4. Marquises, 17. Lords, and above 200. Gentlemen. He was brought in by 500. Spanish Ginetts; At his lodging he had ten Coches every day attending besides his own three. The busines it seems, was wrought to his hand before his coming, for he met with no difficulties at all: The contract of the marriage was in Spanish and French, but the *French* was first sign'd: though the other first read. The *dotal* portion was but 600000. crowns on either side, which was payed and no purse open'd, being a crosse mariage, the

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summe of the dowry was so moderat, because there might peradventure happen an occasion of restitution. But the wonder was not so much at the smalnes of the dowry as of the *joynture* of both Princesses, which was but 20000. crowns yearly rent. Much præcaution was us'd by the Spaniard, that, to correspond with their *Salic* law in France, the Infanta should renounce all right of succession to the Crown and dominions of Spain known or unknown. The Duke of *Mayn* was much honor'd for the time, and once the King took him out of purpose to ride by his side through the town; under pain of indispensable death, none was to draw sword against any Frenchman while he was there; The Duke was presented with a chain and Hat-band valued at 15000. crownes with four Ginetts. And hoping it might prove a good omen for the prosperitie of the match, the Feast of Saint *Lewis* was commanded to be celebrated with as much solemnitie, and held as holy as any other Saints day in the whole Calender. The Duke of *Pasfrana* came that summer to *Paris* in another such splendid Equippage, and concluded the counterpart of the match. Sundry sorts of triumphs pass'd in *Paris* upon these reciprocall Contracts; but the two Princes of the blood would take no share in those public solemnities, but retir'd from Court in disgust; Causing some Confidants of theirs to blaze abroad the grounds of their grievances, which were, *That the Queen Regent did not communicat unto them the most important affaires of State; That she had concluded the foresaid marriages without their advice; That they were untimely and precipitat, considering the age of the Princes: That the Queen steer'd the great vessell of the State by a forren compasse: That the masse of treasure left by the last King was exhausted, with such like.* But a way was found to comply with them for that time, so they both return'd to Court, where *Soissons* died a little after.

But there was a more dangerous consequence then this like to ensue; for the said *match*, and so much intimacy with Spain bred ill blood amongst them of the *Religion*, and fill'd them with ombrages of fear, it might turn to their prejudice and danger one day, in so much that a disposition of rising was discover'd in them generally; which was aggravated by an ill-favour'd accident that happen'd in the Town of *Nismes* in Languedoc; where one of their prime Preachers *Ferrir* being turn'd Roman Catholic, the rabble of the town sack'd his house, burnt his books, grub'd up his vineyards, and plunder'd all he had; The King being offended hereat remov'd the Presidial Court and Seneshalship thence to *Beaucaire*.

One *Morgard* an Astrologer publish'd some Prædictions of his in Print grounded upon the crosse conjunction of some malignant planets, wherein he positively foretold very great commotions that were ready to arise in France; and the fall of some great men. But by Decree of Parliament he was condemn'd to the gallies, where in lieu of handling his *Astrolab*, he was put to tug at an oare; This, the poor Star-gazer could not foresee, though his other prædictions prov'd all

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true. Now, touching Sydereall observations, and predictions of Astrology though they be at best, but conjecturall, yet are they not altogether to be condemn'd, albeit that scarce one in a hundred hit; there is a multitude of no mean examples that may be produc'd, one was pointed at in the Proem of this peece. And divers know how the yeers of the late Erl of Pembroke were precisely limited by a Genethliacall calcule. We read that Otho the Emperour commanded all Astrologers to quit his dominions by such a day; The Astrologers sent him word, that since he had assign'd them a day to go out of the Empire, they would assign him another to go out of the world, for by such a day he should be no more among mortals; which prov'd true. This was contrary to a passage of Edward the Confessor King of England, who, when an Astrologer came, and told him, that he had taken great pains to pry into the horoscope of his nativitie, and found that his Majesty should dy in such a moneth; The King answer'd, I can go neerer to work then so, for I can foretell thee the very hour of thy death, which will be to morrow at two a clock in the afternoon precisely, so that thou canst not avoyd it: So he commanded him to be tryed and executed accordingly. But although it be presumption in man to determin any thing peremptorily out of their observance of the motions of Celestiall bodies, yet it must be granted that the said bodies by their perpetuall influxes having dominion over every thing that is natural in man, as the body, the masse of blood, the organs and sensual appetit, they may dispose his humors and inclinations to peace or war, to obedience or insurrection, to love or hatred accordingly. For if Comets, as we find by woofull experience, which are of a far baser and more grosse extraction, being meer meteorologicall stuff, are thought to have a virtual power to make impressions upon the air, and to leave infectious qualities behind them in the regions thereof, which use to work upon human bodies in contagions, and upon their humors to suscit at the minds of men to tumults, and war, much more may the Stars claym such a power: Nevertbeles although Altra regunt homines, although it be allow'd that the Stars predominat over every thing that is corporeal in man, it follows not, that this dominion extends to his intellectuals and to those actions which depend upon the absolut Empire of the will; and other faculties of the soul which are purely spiritual; but though this should be partly granted, yet if we consider the union that is twixt the soul and the senses (being inmates of one house) which is such, that she cannot produce any act if they do not contribut, and present the object which is the intelligible species, it may well be inferr'd that the faculties of the soul operat by the ministry of the senses, and sensual appetit; and the sensual appetit by influxes from heavenly bodies, which may be said to have power to incite though not to force the will and affections of men to commotions and war; and according to their various conjunctions and oppositions, their anglings and culminations to cause good or bad effects, which may prove inauspicious or successful, as some Astrologers observ'd when his Majesty of great Britain (then Prince of Wales) went to Spain to fetch a wife, there was then a conjunction twixt Jupiter and Saturn which is always held malevolent, so that journey had no successe; but whither am I thus transported by this speculation from my intended road?

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But without consulting the stars; it was easie for any one of a mean foresight to be a prophet of some sudden commotions to arise, considering how matters then stood in *France*; for the Marshal of *Ancre* (an Italian) had then the vogue, having engrossed to himself by the favor of the Queen Regent the managing and transaction of all the greatest affairs of State; A man not so despicable as the French Annalists make him, for his grandfather was Secretarie of State to *Cosmo de Medici*, and by birth, breeding and courage was a gentleman; besides his wife had suck'd of the same milke as the Queen Regent did, for her mother had bin her Nurse. But it seems *D'Ancre* had scrued up the strings of authoritie too high, and so they came not only to jar, but to crack at last.

There were printed this yeer two Latine Books which kept a great clatter all Christendome over; one was writ by *Schoppius*, calld *Ecclesiasticus*; The other by *Becanus*, calld *Controversia Anglia de potestate Regis et Papae*. They both trenchd highly upon Regall power. The first had base touches of scandall upon *Henry* the Great, and his late Majesty of England; In so much that by a solemn sentence of Parliament it was burnt in Paris: so France was revengd on the Book, and England had some revenge on the body of the Author. For he being in *Madrid*, and Sir *John Digby* (now Earl of Bristol) being Ambassadour there, Master *George Digby* his kinsman (a generous hardy young Gentleman) encounting the said *Schoppius* he gave him a faire large cut athwart the face, and so stigmatiz'd him to the view of the world, which visible mark he wore to his grave.

Touching the other Book of *Becanus*: The Syndic of *Sorbon* petitioned the Queen Regent that it might receive the same doome, and that the Sacred Faculty of Theology might be permitted to put forth some public instrument to condemn the Doctrin thereof; The Queen advis'd them not to determin any thing thereon as yet, nor to make such noise, or take so much notice thereof. But they press'd further, alledging it wold be a shrew brand to the Sacred Faculty to pass over so slightly such a scandalous Book, that derogated so much from the authority of Kings, and particularly of the most Christian, with silence. For posteritie will interpret this silence to be a consent to the tenets thereof. But they were still put off, and in the interim there came news from Rome that a Decree was published by the Pope wherein the said Book was condemn'd and adjudg'd to contain many false, rash, scandalous and seditious things respectively, and therefore to be no more printed or publishd, but to be put in the second Classes of Indexes, untill it be corrected, and the correction approv'd according to the rules of the Index. In the said Decree the word respectively some imagined to be inserted of purpose, as an evasion, to shew that the Jesuits do not absolutely condemn the doctrin of *Becanus*, but only as it invades the Prerogatives of the French Crown.

They of the Religion, as I told you before, suspected some ill consequences of the crosse Match with Spain, and feared it would prove

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croffe to them in time; Moreo^{er} the Princes of the bloud, and others repin'd at the power of *D' Ancre*, whereupon the Duke of *Bovillon* prime Marshall of France, (and prime *Machinator* of this tumult) came to visite the Prince of *Conde*, and made a solemn studied speech unto him as followeth.

My Lord, it would be impudence in me to represent unto you the deplorable estate of France, whereof you have more knowledge then I: or to touch the arrogance of *Conchiny*, which you must needs daily resent; or to make his power suspected, which is the next dore to tyranny; or to exhort you to oppose his pernicious desseins: The consideration of your own safety with that of France, is enough to rouze up your generous thoughts, and to administer Counsell to you who are the most judicious Prince of Europe: Moreover in such a manifest and urgent affair as this, ther's no need of Remonstrance, consultation or exhortation, but to apply some sudden, and actual remedy: Therefore I addresse my self now to your Excellence, not onely to offer you my means, but my person; as also 100000. men, who would esteem themselves happy to serve you, and will hold it a glory to employ their bloud to the last drop under your conduct; for the good of the State, and your just defence against this *Faquin Florentin*, this *Florentine* porter, who plots the ruin of all those Princes, and Peers of the Kingdom, who would overshadow his advancement, and hinder to establish his tyranny: The difference of Religion which we professe, ought not to empeach a strong and solid union between us, in the conjuncture of so common a danger; considering that while we endeavour our own safety, we secure the State generall, and incolumity of our Countrey; which are conditions inseparable from the Kings service, whose Sacred Person is not safe enough under the irregular ambition of a stranger; which his Majesty himself begins now to perceive, and seeing his liberty engag'd, fears the ambition of this tyrant, and will find himself oblig'd to those that can rid him of him.

My Lord, you are well assur'd that the greatest part of the Princes finding themselves involv'd in the same interest with you, are touch'd with the same resentments, and dispos'd to joyn with your Excellence in a project as glorious, as necessary; For doubles the Gentry of France in whom consist the sinews of our armies, being naturally averse to the commandements of a stranger, will run unto you from all parts to assist you with their armes; Touching the Towns, you need not doubt, but a good part of them which are under the Government of the Princes will declare themselves for you. And I give you certain assurance, that They of the Religion (which are the strongest, and best provided with soldiers, artillery, ammunition, and victualls of any other) will declare themselves for your party, as soon as you shall publish your laudable intentions by some Manifesto.

It concerns your Excellence therefore my Lord, to take hold of Time by the foretop, for the restauration, and safetie of the State in generall, and your own in particular, and of all the Princes, and Gentry of the Kingdom: But if you let Occasion escape you, know that she is bald behind, and you shall never be able to catch her again: Besides the Armies which you might justly raise now, during the Kings minority, and by reason the government is usurp-

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ed. by an Alien (who hath not so much as the quality of a Gentleman) wold be hereafter felony and treason under the majority and liberty of our lawfull Monark.

The Prince was a subject fit to be wrought upon, and ready to receive any print, for he could not brook the exorbitant power of D'Ancre; therefore having assurance that the Dukes of Nevers, Main, Longueville, Luxemburg, and the said Borillon would follow him, he retires to Mezieres upon the frontire of Champany; he made choice of that place because it was his Parrimony, and that he might have a sure Rendezvous of Sedan if need required: The Duke of Vendosme thinking to retire to Britany was arrested in the Louure, but he got loofe by a trick; and the Chevalier his brother was sent to Malta.

The foresaid male-contented Princes recruited dayly in Champany, But had the young King got a horsback and pursued them presently though with a petty Army, the Countrey wold have ris with him, and so he had prevented their encrease, and driven them in all probability to Sedan, where he might have kept them in exile, with a small Army on the frontiers; And his Counsell was much tax'd for not adviuing him so: But in lieu of arms he sent Ambassadors and Epistles after them to perswade their return, or, if they refused, to amuse them till he might raise forces sufficient to encounter them; to which end he sent to Swisserland for 6000. men; but Borillon by his artifice hinder'd that design from taking its full effect.

Thus a fearfull storme was like to fall on France; for the male-contented dispers'd themselves to divers strong holds; Longueville went to Picardy, Main to Soissons, Borillon to Sedan, and Vendosme was as busie as any other to raise the Countrey in Britain, Conde continued still at Mezieres, nor could any Letter from King or Queen Regent sent by the Duke. of Ventadour reduce him; He writ to the Queen That the ill government, which he imputed not to Her, but to ill Counsellors, were the cause of his retirement, who because they might have the sole direction of things, hindred the convocation of the States generall which were used to assemble always in the Kings minority: he complain'd that the marriages with Spain were precipitated: that the authority of the Parliament was diminished, the Church-men trampled upon, the Nobles undervalued, the people laden with gabells and tallies, divisions sowed in Sorbon, and the University, with divers other solacismes in the present Government. In his conclusion he insists much upon the convocation of the States generall of the Kingdom sure & free, a suspension of the marriage with Spain, and so concludes with much complement. These were specious pretences, but they were as so many imaginary lines drawing to one reall Center which was the Marq: of Ancre who indeed was the sole grievance, and not He neither, but his power and privacy with the Queen Regent, which they thought to demolish by Arms.

The Queen Regent in her answer to Conde reprocheth him, that he had not imparted these things privately to her to whom he had perpetual access, that notwithstanding he seems to cast the fault upon certain Counsellors, yet all bounds

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bounds upon her by reflection: she declares that long before the reception of his Letter, she had resolv'd, and to that end there were public dispatches abroad to summon the Convocation of the States Generall; she takes exception that he should call them *Estats seurs & libres*, States sure and free, which made her conceive a violent jealousy of some artifice on his side, to sow seeds of difficulties in the said great Assembly: she alledgeth that from the beginning she imparted both to him and the Co: of Soissons the marriage with Spain, that they approved of them and subscribed the Articles; That the late King declared his inclination unto it when Don Pedro de Toledo pass'd through France. And so she concluds with exhortation that he wold appear in the Assembly of the three Estates, and bring with him all his Confederats, to contribut the great Zeal they professe to the common good of the Kingdom: The Queens Letter was large, and in it there was a curious mixture of meekness and Majestie. The Duke of Vendosme sent her also two Letters, but he could get no answer to either.

Thus a fearfull black cloud hung over poor France, which the Queen Mother essayed by all means possible to dissipat before it shold break out into a tempest of intestine War, therefore, the King and she descended to send again the Duc of Vantadour accompanied with the Presidents of Thou and Jeauin with others to draw Conde to a treaty of accord; which at last was agreed upon, and the prime Capitulations were these.

1. That the States Generall shold assemble in the Town of Sens within such a time, wherein the Deputies of the three Orders may safely and freely make such Remonstrances and Propositions that they shall hold in their consciences to be profitable for the common good, for the redresse of disorders, and conservation of public tranquillity.

2. His Majesty being willing to gratify the Prince of Conde, hath upon his prayer and instance, and upon assurance of his future affection and fidelity, accorded to put into his hands the Castle of Amboise as a gage till the States Generall dissolve, and 100. men for garrison in the said Castle.

3. That 100. men shall be entertain'd in Mezieres, 200. in Soissons whereof the Duc of Main is Governor, till the States Generall have risen.

4. That Letters shall be sent from his Majesty verified by the Court of Parliament, wherein his Majesty shall declare unto the world that there was no ill intention against his service, by the said Prince and his Associates, therefore that they shold be never prejudic'd for the future in their estates or persons.

5. That in consideration of the expences the said Prince might be at in this business, his Majesty accords to give him 450000. Franks to dispose of as he shall think fit.

6. That the eldest sonne of the Duke of Newers shall succeed his father in the Government of Champany.

These with divers other Articles of this kind, the King was induc'd (I will not say inforc'd) to condescend unto for preventing of greater evils; and it was call'd the Treaty of Saint-Menehou; And one would have thought that a gentle calme shold have follow'd, and that the meeting of the States General wold have perpetuated it; But be-

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hold two ill-favor'd accidents, like two impetuous puffs, put things again in disorder: The one was that the Duke of *Vendosme* would not put *Blavet* into the hands of the Marquis of *Cauvres* according to the Kings command, but stood still upon his gard in Britany. The second was an affront which *Conde* alledg'd to have receiv'd from the Bishop of *Poitiers*, who would not suffer him to enter the Town (as he pass'd to his government of Dauphine and secur'd the Castle of Amboise) being fought unto by the Governor the Duc of *Roanex* to establish his authoritie there. The Bishop arm'd first, and the town after his example. *Conde* writes a Letter to the Queen Regent which did not please her well, for he subscribes himself only her *thrice-humble servant and neveu*, whereas he was us'd to write *your thrice humble, and thrice obedient servant, and subject*. The Marquis of *Bonnivet* a creature of *Condes* had not yet dismiss'd all his troupes, therefore under his authoritie he harasseth and plunders all the Countrey about *Poitiers*, sacks the Bishops House and commits many sacrilegious and execrable outrages; The young King hearing this, gets presently a Horseback, and sends the Duke of *Main* before to stop the ravages of *Bonnivet*, so he followeth after, and passing by *Orleans*, *Blois*, *Tours*, and *Chastel le heraud* a cautionary town of them of the *Religion* (who notwithstanding presented the Keys to his Majesty as he pass'd) he came to *Poitiers*; where he reconcil'd the Prince of *Conde* and the Bishop, caus'd *Bonnivet* to disband his forces compos'd of *Picaroons* and *vagabonds*; Thence he went to *Nants*, where also he rang'd the Duke of *Vandosme* to obedience, dismantled the Fort at *Blavet* and so having in a short compasse of time compos'd and quash'd all things he returns triumphantly to *Paris*, where an Ambassadour was attending him from *Zuric*, who desir'd to enter into an alliance with him, as the rest of the Cantons had.

This was the first exploit that *Lewis* the thirteenth did in his own person, which like the rising Sun dispell'd those frog vapors that hover'd in *Poitou* and *Britany*: and it was held a good augury for the future. *The presence of a King is oft-times very advantageous; for Rebellion durst never stare long in the face of Majesty, which useth to lance out such penetrating refulgent rayes, that dazzle the eyes of Traytors, and put them at last quite out of countenance.* With this achievement we will conclude his Minority, and his Mothers Regency; And as this first expedition of his prov'd lucky, so was his whole life attended with a series of good successes, as if *Fortune* her self had rid with him all the while upon the same horse. And now must we put a period to the first lustre of *Lewis* the thirteenths reign, and with it to his *minoritie* or *passage*; We proceed to his second *lustre* wherewith his *majoritie* begins being arriv'd to the year fourteen.

*The second Lustre of the Life of Lewis the 13th.
raigne, and of his Majoritie.*

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AND now our Story must mount up to his *Majority*, and follow him to his full age, wherein he entred at fourteen years, and the broken number of the Lords yeer was coincident, being sixteen hundred and fourteen; But I have read an old Author who writes, that without any consideration had of years, the French Kings arrive to maturitie, and are capable to sway the Scepter, when *they come to be as high as a sword*, let their age be what it will.

In the former Chapter we told you that by vertue of the Treatie of St. Menchou the Queen Regent had promis'd, and was oblig'd to the Princes by capitulation to summon the *States Generall*, and suspecting there might be some desseins against her authoritie, she endeavour'd to prevent it divers wayes. First, in the Mandats sent to the Governors of Provinces, and Towns for the elections of Deputies, there were speciall cautions inserted, to choose no factious persons; The second means was to defer the convocation of the *States Generall*; till the Kings *majority* was declar'd, that so his authoritie might be the more compleat and absolut, whereby he might have a greater power to take into his hands her interests, and oppose such resolutions that might prejudice them.

Lastly, whereas the said convocation was appointed first to be at Rheims, then at Sens, she sent summons abroad that it should be held at Paris, where the King was strongest by the residence of his servants, the affections of all orders of people, and the assistance of the ordinary Court of Parliament which is still there sitting, though it was us'd to be ambulatory with the Kings Court.

Now, the difference which is in France between an *Assembly* of the three Estates, and their *Parliaments* is, that the former hath an analogie both in point of institution, power, and summons with our Sovereign high Court of *Parliament* in England, compos'd of Lords and Commons, wherein the King sits as head, and it is He alone who opens and shuts it with his breath; This being the greatest of all Assemblies, treats of matters touching the universall good of the State, and the making, correcting or repealing of laws, and it is the highest Sphere which gives motion to all the rest.

The *Parliaments* of France, whereof there are eight, have not the same latitude of power, yet are they Supreme Courts, or Sessions of Justice, where mens causes and differences are publicly determined in last resort without any further appeale; and any Peer of France by right of inheritance hath a capacitie to sit there.

The day being assign'd for publishing the Kings *Majority*, the Queen Regent and He with his now sole brother the Duke of Anjou, (for his brother the Duke of Orleans was lately dead) went in a stately solemn manner to the Court of Parliament, accompanied with the prime

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Prelats, and Peers of the Kingdom, and amongst them there were fower Cardinalls; A contestation happen'd 'twixt the *Cardinalls* and Peers for precedence; because the twelve *Peers* of France, before an Ordinance made by *Henry* the third, preceded any Prince of the bloud at the Coronation and Sacring of the King, and the declaration of his *Majority* was an Act reflecting on that. Yet the King inordred the priority for that time to the *Cardinalls*, because they were *Princes of the Church universal*, which made the *Peers* retire from the Court lest it might serve for a precedent to future Ages.

The Court being sat, and all silenc'd the Queen Regent ris up, and said, *That she prais'd and thank'd God to have afforded her grace to bring up her son to the yeers of his Majority, and to maintain his Kingdom in peace the best she could: That now he being come to age, she transmitted the Government to him, exhorting the company there present, and all other his subjects to render him that service, obedience and fidelity which is due unto him as to their King.* The Chancelor hereupon pronounced the Arrest of the Court, importing a verification of the declaration of his Majesties *Majority*; which was done in a solemn studied Oration. This great solemnity did not end so, but it was accompagnied with four wholsom Edicts, as the first fruits or hanfels of his reign.

1. The first aym'd at a general concord 'twixt his subjects, by strict injunction of observing the *Edict of Nantes* concerning them of the Religion.

2. The second aym'd at a generall obedience, prohibiting all ligues, confederacy and intelligence with any strange Prince or State under pain of life.

3. The third against Duells.

4. The fourth against Blasphemy and Swearing.

Thus ended the Regency of *Maria de Medici* in form, though not in effect, for she sway'd a good while after as *Queen Mother* in all Counsels, the King reposing still his chief confidence in her; during her Regency she did many public things which discover'd a pious and Princely soul; Amongst others she provided divers Hospitalls in the suburbs of *Saint German* for the relief of the poor, the aged, and sick, and to set young people at work; which will continue there as long as the walls of *Paris* for monuments of her honour and charity.

The King having notice that the Deputies of the three States were com, he sent the Bp. of *Paris* to warn them in his name to fit themselves for receiving the grace of God, that so a blessing might fall upon their consultations; to which purpose three daies fast was enjoin'd them, to prepare them the better for the holy Communion, which was also inordred them. So according to ancient custom a generall Procession was made, wherein divers ranks of Fryars and Hospitalers went before, then followed the Deputies of the *third Estate*, who took place according to the rank of the 12. Governments of France, and made in number 192. The *Nobles* followed them; in number 132. They of the Clergie went last, who made 140. so that in all they

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came to 464. which number I observe is inferior to that of the English Parliament, where the Members of the House of Commons alone which corresponds the *Third Estate* in France, come to neer upon 500. After these the King himself followed on foot, accompanied with the Queen and the Princes and Peeres. The next day after, all met in Bourbon House hall where the young King told them, *That having not long since declar'd his Majority, he thought fitting to convoke the States Generall of his Kingdom, to begin his reign by their good advice and Counsell, to receive their complaints, and provide for redres accordingly, as it should be more amply told them by his Chancellor, who took the word thereupon.*

This generall overture and Ceremony being ended, the States Generall spent some daies to visit one another, and to choosing of their three Præsidents or Prolocutors which they presented to the King with protestation of all fidelity and obedience. The next day they took the Communion all in one Church, going fix at a time (*viz.* two of every Order) to the holy Table. The Munday following they re-assembled intending to fall close to work, but their proceedings were retarded by some differences which interven'd touching the rank of the 12. Provinces or Governments, and this clash kept a great noise; till the King interpos'd therein his Authority, and by the advice of his Privy Counsell, which they submitted unto, made this decision marshalling the 12. Governments thus: 1. the Isle of France, (whereon Paris stands) 2. Burgundy, 3. Normandy, 4. Guyen, 5. Britany, 6. Champany, 7. Languedoc, 8. Picardy, 9. Dauphine, 10. Provence, 11. Lionnois, 12. Orleans. This being regulated by the King, they fell to the main work, and three Propositions were made; the first by the Clergy wherewith the Nobles joyn'd.

1. That the Counsell of Trent should be publish'd through France.
2. That the venality and selling of Offices should be suppressed.
3. That the King should acknowledge in this Assembly to have no other superiour power on earth in his Temporalls, and that he held the Crown immediatly of God alone. This last Proposition was put on by the *third Estate*, against the intention and without the concurrence of Clergy and Nobles, of purpose to hinder the concession of the other two, because divers of the *third Estate* were favourers of them of the Religion and Financiers.

The first Proposition was couch'd in these termes.

That the Oecumenical Counsell of Trent be receiv'd and publish'd in your Realms, and the Constitutions thereof kept and observ'd; but without prejudice to your Majesties rights, the liberties of the Gallic Church, the privileges and exemptions of Chapters, Monasteries and Cominalties which his Holinesse shall be prayed, may be reserv'd, and to remain in their entire strength, so that the publication of the said Counsell may not prejudice them any way.

The *Third Estate* protested against this, alledging these reasons; That in the said Counsell there were divers Decrees, whereby the Spirituall, invaded the Temporal rights. That it would be a thing not only prejudiciall

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judiciall but dishonourable for France to approve of a Counsell, wherein the most Christian King had received a palpable injury in the persons of his Ambassadors, who were postpos'd to them of Spain, which caus'd them to retire, and quit the said Counsell in sense of that indignity offer'd to them who personated the first son of the Church in so public a Convention. They excepted also against that clause that the Pope should be prayed, the liberties of the Gallic Church might be preserv'd, for that was to submit them to a forren power, to the Papall authoritie; whereas the said liberties are independent, and originally inhærent in the Gallican Church, and contemporary with Christianity it self; The difference 'twixt Liberties and Priviledges being this, that the latter presuppose the concession and grant of some superior Power, but liberties are originall, and immemorial possessions, and equall to inheritances.

Touching the second Proposition of the Clergy and Nobles against the venality and merchandising of Offices, it was way'd, because divers of the Third Estate were either Financiers, or Officers of Justice, which places they had bought, and so had power to sell them again for money.

Touching the third Proposition that concern'd the independency of the French Crown which was presented by the Commons in opposition to the first Proposition made by the Clergy and Nobles for the publication of the Counsell of Trent; the one being made out of a zeale to the State Civil, the other to the State Spiritual, there were hot bandings on both sides; The third Estate or Commons would have it declared for a fundamentall law, that the King being supreme and absolute in his own Dominions, there is no power on earth, either Spirituall or Temporall, that hath any right to deprive him of his Crown, or to dispense and absolve his subjects from their allegiance unto him: This was done to extinguish that dangerous Doctrin broached by som, how it was lawfull to kill Tyrants, and if the Roman Bishop had power to declare Kings Tyrants, their lives would be expos'd to the passion of every Pope, and so to perpetuall apprehensions of danger.

The Clergy and Nobles finding how pertinacious and resolute the Commons were in this point for securing the lives of their Kings, and fearing it might breed a schisme 'twixt the Apostolicall See, and the Monarchy of France, Cardinal Perron a man of high merit and moderation, was sent to make a Remonstrance unto them, which he reduced to three heads.

1. That it is not permitted upon any cause whatsoever to kill a King.

2. That the Kings of France are Soverains in all degrees of Temporal soverainty within their Realm.

3. That there is no case, whereby subjects may be absolved from their oath of fidelity to their Prince.

Concerning the first two he pronounc'd them as absolut and categorical; but touching the last the Cardinal said, that in regard it might usher in a Schisme, he left it as problematicall, not positif.

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The President or Speaker of the Commons answer'd, that the third Proposition being *politically*, he conceiv'd it concern'd not the Doctrine of *Faith*, and consequently could not introduce any schisme; much busling there was about this point, the Commons being very eager in it, having the Parliament of Paris siding with them, who pass'd an Arrest in favour of them accordingly: but the King evok'd the difference to himself commanding that nothing should be determin'd thereon; in regard that he being assured of his own right and possession, it appertain'd not either to the *States*, or to the Court of Parliament, or any other arbiter whatsoever to take cognisance thereof; and remarkable it was, that the King did not evoke and call that matter to Himself and to his *Counsell*, according to the ordinary form, but absolutly to himself and his own Person.

But although the King commanded the said Decree of the Court of Parliament to be suspended, the Attorney Generall made such diligences, because he was a friend to the businesse, that divers Copies were sent abroad.

The great Assembly drawing now towards a closure, they brought their *Cayers*, or papers of grievances to the King at Bourbon House hall; The Bishop of *Lusson* (after Cardinall of *Richelieu*) was Prolocutor for the Clergy; the King presently delivered the said *Cayers* to his Chancellor, promising them an answer with all convenient expedition.

Thereupon a little after he sent for them to the *Louvre* his royal Palace, and told them that in regard of sundry affairs of great importance he could not answer their *Cayers* so soon as he desired, but he would give speedy order to do it, in the interim they might carry along with them to the Countrey an assurance of the satisfaction they expected touching the chiefeft Articles; for he was resolv'd to suppress the selling of offices, to ease his people of tallies and subsidies, to cause a research to be made into the misdemeanures of his Receivers and Financiers; and lastly, to retrench the multiplicite of Offices and Pensions, which were encreas'd from about two millions of franks, (which was the stint in the former Kings reign) to four millions, which make four hundred thousand pounds sterling. Observ'd it was that the Marshall of *Ancre*, while this busines of retrenching Officers and Pensions was in hottest agitation amongst the States, got three new Tresurers of Pensions to be created, from whom he drew neer upon one hundred thousand pound sterling, as you will find hereafter when it will be thrown into his dish.

This was the first and last Assembly of the three *Estates*, or Parliament general, that was held in the reign of *Lewis* the thirteenth, which it seems found his *grave* then, for there hath bin none ever since, and there is litte hopes of its *resurrection*, while the Clergy and Nobles continue so potent, who finding that the third *Estate* began to tamper with the Popes jurisdiction, and Church matters, have wrought means to hinder their meeting any time these 30. yeers and upwards.

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This year died Queen *Margaret* the last Branch of the *Valois*, being come of the loyns of thirteen successif Monarks of that line, a Lady of a rare attracting exterior bewty, she had a high harmonious soul, much addicted to music, and the sweets of love, and oftentimes in a Platonic way; She would have this Motto often in her mouth, *Voulez vous cesser d'aymer? possedez la chose aymée*. Will you cease to love? possesse the thing you love. She had lodg'd *Henry* Duke of *Guyse* who was kill'd at *Blois* so far in her heart, that being afterwards married against her will to *Henry* the fourth, and divorc'd by mutuall consent, she profess'd she could never affect him; she had strains of humors and transcendencies beyond the vulgar, and delighted to be call'd *Venus Urania*. She would have Philosophers and Divines in her House, and took pleasure to hear them dispute, and clash one with the other; she entertain'd fortie Priests, *English*, *Scots*, and *Irish*, she would often visit hospitals, and did divers acts of charitie to satisfie for the lubricities of her youth.

There was an accident happen'd this year in *Paris* that made a mighty noise for the time; Two of the Kings gards having fought, and the one being kill'd, the other fled into Sanctuary to the Abbey of *St. Germain*; The Duke of *Espernon* fetch'd him thence by force: Complaint being made to the King, he put him over to the Court of Parliament to receive his doom for infringing the Priviledges of the Church, and commanded him to deliver the Prisoner again to the Sanctuary, or he would fetch him away himself; The old Duke did so, and coming to the Palace to appear before the Parliament, a rustling company of Souldiers and Cadets follow'd him who did some acts of insolency against the Lawyers by kicking them with their spurs in the Hall where none should come spurr'd; this aggravated the busines, but the Duke made a long submissive speech to the Parliament, wherein he acknowledg'd his error, concluding with an apology, *that they would excuse him if his discourse did not content their learned eares, for having bin all his life time a Captain of foot, he had learnt to do better then speak*.

The prime President then rise up, and said; *That since the King in imitation of his Progenitors intends to be more inclin'd to sweetnes and clemency, then rigor: The Court by his expresse command, and in consideration of your long services, beleevving the good rather then the bad, doth graciously interpret the actions of an ancient Officer of the Crown and Peer of France, and so receives your excuses: hoping that this will occasion you, and your children to render the King and the State such services as you are oblig'd to do, and for the futur that you will contain your self within the bounds of that respect and honor which you owe to this Court*.

There was mention made a little before how the Assembly of the States General was dissolv'd, and that having deliver'd their Cayers of complaints to the King, they were dismiss'd but with large parol promises only; We related also how the Arrest made in the Parliament of *Paris* in Confirmation of the opinion of the Third Estate touching
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the independency of the Crown of France, was commanded by the King to be suspended, and that nothing should be determin'd therein. This gather'd ill blood, which bred ill humors, and so brake out into divers distempers afterwards, as will appear: *For as in the naturall body, if upon taking of Physic, the superfluities be onely stirr'd, and not purg'd, it doth more hurt then good, and makes the drug to remain in the stomach undigested; So in civil Corporations, if abuses be onely moved, and not remedied, it makes the body Politic worse then it was.*

The Parliament of *Paris* was sensible how the Arrest wherein they concurr'd with the *Third Estate* was slighted, and countermanded, therefore they publish'd an Order, that, *under the good pleasure of the King*, all Princes, Dukes, Peers, and Officers of the Crown which are capable of sitting and have deliberative votes in that Court; should repair thither by such a time, to consult of matters tending to his Majesties service, &c. When this Order pass'd the Prince of *Condé* was promis'd to be there, but he was counter-commanded by the King, nor did any of the rest appear: yet the Parliament went on and fram'd a Remonstrance of abuses in Government which by their Deputies they sent to the King, and being come to the *Louvre* they danc'd attendance there a good while, and afterwards they were brought up by a back odd way to the Kings presencè, where the Queen Mother was also present and divers Princes; The prime President made an oylie complemental speech full of protestations of loyalty to his Majesty, and afterwards delivered the *Cajer* of Remonstrances, which was read aloud by one of the Secretaries of State, wherein the Parliament instanced in divers grievances, and that they resented nothing more, but that in the face of the whole State, the royal power was rendred and left *problematical*, and doubtfull.

The young King was not well pleas'd with this Remonstrance, and the Queen Mother much lesse; *Who told them that the King had just cause to be offended with the Parliament, because against his command they had meddled with matters of State, and that she was not so short sighted, but that she could perceive how these things reflected upon her Regency, which they had formerly highly approv'd of; and the Assembly of States General had also thank'd her for.* Then the Chancelor took the word, telling them that they had bin misinform'd in many things which they took upon trust, and that they were much out of their account, in that they alledg'd that the expences were greater, and the receipts lesse under this King, then his Father, who reserv'd but eight thousand lires, every year, not two millions, as they pretended. So the prime President, and the rest of the Parliaments delegates were dismiss'd with little or no countenance at all; The Counsell of State spoak high language, averring that the passing of the foresaid public Order to invite the Princes, and Peers to meet in Parliament upon extraordinary occasions, without his Majesties leave, was an open, and insupportable attempt upon his authoritie now that he is declar'd *Major*, as also upon the authoritie of that Counsell; therefore an Arrest issued out, *That the Parliaments Remonstrances were false,*

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calumnious, and full of malice and disobedience, and that therefore they should be drawn off the Register of the said Parliament, and suppress'd forever, with an inhibition that the said Court should not meddle with matters of State but by the Kings command. Before this Arrest was publish'd, the Parliament mainly endeavour'd to give some contentment to their Majesties; therefore they employ'd again the prime President with others, To declare the great displeasure the Court had, that their Remonstrance was not agreeable to their Majesties wils, protesting that it was never the intention of the Court to touch upon their actions, or the Queens Regency, whom they acknowledg'd to have oblig'd all France by her wise conduct and care she had both of the Kings Person, and the State, that as they could not so they would never attempt any thing upon royal authority, what they had don was to testifie the zeal which they owe, and will shew eternally to their Majesties Persons; That they most humbly desir'd them to remember that the very next day after the death of Henry the Great, their Majesties were pleas'd to honor that Court with their presence, desiring them to contribut their good Counsels for the conduct of the public affairs, which oblig'd them to present the foresaid Remonstrances, &c. So they concluded with all possible submission, and a desire that the said Arrest of his Counsel of State should not be publish'd.

This took away something of the inflammation for the time, but it cur'd not the wound, which began to fester more and more, and so gangrend that the whole body politic was like to perish. For what the Court of Parliament fought by *supplication*, the Prince of Conde nor long after fought by the *sword*, who having divers of the greatest Princes, and them of the Religion ligu'd with him, brought their Petition upon the Pikes point; Conde flew to that height, that he proceeded not by way of *Remonstrance*, but, as if he had bin a Prince absolute, by way of *Manifesto*.

He was then in *Picardy* whicher the King had sent divers Letters by persons of good quality, to invite him to come to Court, and to accompany him in his voyage to Guyen to fetch the Infanta, but all would not do; for old *Borillon* had infus'd other Counsels into his head, and so he publish'd a Manifesto that the cause of his retirement from the Court, was the insolent deportment of the *Marshall of Ancre*, the dissipation of Henry the Greats treasure, the introduction of strangers, of Jewes, Sorcerers and Magicians, by the said Marshall; and so he concluded King-like, (*parlant en sire*) Wherefore we pray and warn all the the Princes, Peers, and Officers of the Crown, and all such as call themselves French to succour and assist us in so good an occasion: And we require and adjure all forren Princes and strangers, all the Allies and Confederats of this State to give us ayd and assistance, &c.

These were the specious pretences that caus'd this Manifesto, which divers forren Princes took in foul scorn, that he should require them, being but a vassal himself; The truth is, there was but one generall grievance; and that was the *Marshall of Ancre* a Confident of the Queen Mothers, whom she had brought with her from Italy, his wife having

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having bin her foster sister; He had the greatest vogue at Court, which being a stranger made him repin'd at. The King and the Queen Mother were then resolv'd upon a journey to *Bordeaux* to receive the Infanta, and to deliver the Daughter of France for the King of Spain: *Conde* dissuades the King from the voyage by Letters, which were not well taken. So while the one prepares for his journey, the other arms for a war, and gets on his party *Longueville*, *Bulloin* and *Mayn*, who had concluded the match with Spain, yet refus'd to attend in the journey; Thus a fearfull clowd hung over France, yet nothing could deter the King from going to fetch his wife, and the Queen Mother said, *That all the power of earth should not hinder him*: Besides he was strained for money for so long and costly a voyage, nor would the Chamber of Accounts verifie in Letters to take any out of the *Bastile*, whereupon the King went himself in Person accompanied by the Queen his Mother, his Chancellor, Secretaries of State, and others, in whose presence the Coffers were open'd and two millions and a halfe of *Liures*, which make 250000. pounds sterling were taken out, and deliver'd to the Treasurer of the Privy Purse.

The King being to begin his journey, the first thing he did was to secure *Paris*; so he left Mounfier de *Liencour* Governour thereof, and to authorise him the more, he admitted him to the Court of Parliament by Letters Patents which the said Court did verifie, notwithstanding the harsh answer they had had to their late Remonstrance at the Loure: The Marshal of *Ancre* was sent to *Amiens* with a considerable Army: And another Army was left under the command of the Marshal de *Bois Dauphin* consisting of 16000. foot, 1500. horse, and 2000. Carabins, to make head against the Mutiners. So the King and his Mother accompanied with the Dukes of *Guise*, *Elbauf*, and *Espernon*, with a good number of Gentlemen, with 1200. light horse, his Guard of *Suisses* and others, making in all 400. foot; parted from *Paris* towards *Bordeaux*, and being come to *Poitiers* *Madame* his sister which was to be sent to Spain fell sick of the small Pox, which detain'd the Court there five weeks, and so much retarded the journey.

In the intrin the Princes forces encrease and prosper exceedingly, having had the best in three encounters: Old *Bovillon* had got 600. Reiters from the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, who joyn'd with them, they got over the *Loire* maugre the Royall Army under *Bois Dauphin*. The Duke of *Vandom* was then with the King, and he gave him Commission extraordinary to make levies of horse and foot, and having by virtu thereof rais'd an Army of 10000. Combatants, he declar'd himself afterward for the Princes, and employ'd them against the King. He who did thrive best amongst the Royalists was the Marshal of *Ancre* who in the interim had taken *Corbes*, and *Clermont*.

The King caus'd a Declaration to be publish'd, wherein *Conde* and all his Adherents were Proclaim'd Traytors, and sent it to *Paris* to be verified

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verified by the Parliament, which was never more puzzled in any business; those that were averse to the Match with Spain, and favour'd the Mutineers endeavour'd to elude the Registring of the royal Declaration, alledging that the Princes of the blood being the prime Peers, could not be censur'd there without their Peers, and that the presence of the King himself was requisite, without which his blood could not be judg'd. After tough altercations the voices of the Court were reduc'd to two Opinions, one was of 73. voices, who order'd that the Declaration should be registred, but the Person of the Prince excepted for a moneth, during which time he should be warn'd to submit himself to his Majesty and all others should lay down their arms.

The other Opinion was caried by 78. voices, which was, that the Court order'd, that the reasons for which they could not and ought not to proceed, to verifie the said Declaration, should be sent to the King; *Condé* to make his quarrel more colourable, and being heightened by the said *Arrest* of the Parliament of *Paris*, added divers Articles more to his *Manifesto*, viz. 1. That further research be made for the assassinat of *Henry* the Great. 2. That a reformation be made of the Kings Counsell. 3. That the grievances of the three Estates be answer'd, with divers other.

They of the Religion were yet Neutrals, and thinking to fish in these troubled waters propos'd these high demands.

1. That the independence of the French Crown be declar'd.
2. That the Counsell of Trent be never publish'd in this Kingdom.
3. That his Majesty shall be desir'd to declare that upon his Coronation oath for extirpation of heresies, he understood not or comprehended his *Subjects of the Religion*.
4. That in all public Acts it shall be inserted no more the *pretended reform'd Religion*, but only, Religion.
5. That their Ministers shall be payed by the King, &c.

These with divers other Propositions were first made at *Grenoble* where the King permitted them to Assemble, but *Lesdiguieres* could not endure them there, therefore they remov'd to *Nismes*, and thence to *Rochell*, notwithstanding that the King commanded the contrary. The Prince of *Condé* had an Agent in the Assembly, who much press'd them to enter into the ligue with him, which they did at last, and writ a Letter to the King of the cause of their conjunction with *Condé*.

And as the King was importun'd by them of the Religion one way, so was he sollicitated by the Roman Catholiques of *Bearn* on the other side, that his Majesty would please to reestablish them in the possession of their goods, whereof they were depriv'd by *Jane d'Albret* his paternal grandmother. Amongst these counter-distractions, there came news unto the King that the 6000. Suisses which he had from the Protestant Cantons, had quitted his pay and party and return'd to their own Country by the perswasion and practises of them of the Religion.

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Madame the Kings sister being recover'd, He went to *Bourdeaux* where the Spanish Ambassadour came to demand her for the Prince of *Castile*; The Duke of *Guise* had a Procuration to marry her the next day, which he did the Cardinal of *Sourdis* officiating, and the pietie of the King much appear'd in the ceremony, because he commanded the Cardinals Chaire should be put on a higher ground then his. The same day the Duke of *Lerma* married the Infanta of Spain in *Burgos* for the King of France. These nuptial ceremonies being perform'd, Madame, now Princeesse of *Castile*, departed from *Bourdeaux* conducted by the Duke of *Guise*, and in regard a rumor ran that they of the Religion, as also the Count of *Grammont* with others who were said to have ligu'd with *Condé*, had way-laid the young Bride, the King commanded all the Regiment of his gard to attend her; putting himself in the interim in the hands of them of *Bourdeaux*. The exchange of the two Princeesses was made upon a river call'd *Bidassô* hard by *St. John de Luz* which separats those two mightie Kingdoms, there were two stately Barges to waft them, the Spaniards on their side had a huge vast globe representing the world, rais'd upon a pavilion very high which made an ostentous shew; The Duke of *Guise* took exception at it, and protested he would never bring o're the Princeesse till it was taken down, which was done accordingly. The next day the young Queen came to *Bayon*, where *Luynes*, then favorit to the King, attended her with a Letter all written by the King himself in these words.

Madame, since I cannot, according to my desire, find my self neer you, at your entrance into my Kingdom, to put you in possession of the power I have, as also of my entire affection to love and serve you; I send towards you *Luynes* one of my confident'st servants to salute you in my name, and tell you, that you are expected by Me with much impatience to offer unto you my Self. I pray therefore receive him favorably, and to beleieve what he shall tell you, Madame, from your most deer friend and servant

Lewis.

Luynes deliver'd her also from the King two rich Standards of Diamonds which she receiv'd and kifs'd; and from her table at Supper She sent a dish of meat unto him; In the morning She return'd this Answer to the King.

Sir, I much rejoyc'd at the good news *Luynes* brought Me of your Majesties health, I come therewith, being most desirous to arrive where I may serve my Mother, and so I am making hast to that purpose, and to kisse your Majesties hand, whom God preserve as I desire:

Anne.

Being come afterwards to *Bourdeaux*, they both receiv'd the nuptial benediction in magnificence, according to the qualitie of the act and the persons, and medals were made and thrown up and down with this Motto--- *æterna fœdera Pacis*; pledges of eternal peace: but the

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the Poet that made that peece of verse for a Motto was no good Prophet; for the eternal peace he spoake of, lasted not many yeers between the two nations, who notwithstanding that nature hath conjoyn'd them neer enough in point of local distance, there being but a small river, whereon the two Princesses were exchange'd, that severs them, yet there is no two people on earth are further asunder, and more differing in disposition, affections and interests, being herein right Antipodes one to the other. By this alliance is verified the saying of the Italian, that Kings may wed, but kingdoms never. It appears also hereby, what a hard destiny, and sorry condition attends the daughters of Soverain Princes, who are commonly made sacrifices of State, and oblations for Politicall respects, being also to be married to aliens, and oft-times to husbands of a different Religion, they are woo'd by Proxy, they must choose by picture, fancy upon trust, and tied in a knot indissoluble to one they never saw but in effigie perchance, and afterwards they must be contented to be unpatriated, disterr'd, and as it were banish'd for ever from their own sweet native soyle, and the ayre they first breath'd: yet as the Civilian saith, although they are the end of the House whence they come, they are the beginning of that wherein they enter.

While the King was celebrating his nuptials in his town of *Bordeaux* by divers inventions and exercises of pastime and pleasure, as masks, tilting, playes, bals, and dances, *Condé* with his Confederats, leads another kind of dance up and down France, but while he danc'd and revell'd thus, the poore Countrey sung *lachryma*, being pitifully oppress'd, torn and haras'd in most parts, there being six or seven armies in motion on both sides: he increas'd mightily by concurrence of partisans, by conjunction of them of the Religion, and by divers successfull rencounters; The King on the other side was at a very low ebb, having exhausted that two millions and a half of liures he had taken himself in person out of the *Bastile*, and being put to hard shifts to get money to defray his ordinary expences, the town of *Bordeaux* to her eternal glory, shew'd herself carefull of his honor and supplied him. Add hereunto that two whole armies fell from him, that of the *Suisse* consisting of 6000. and that under the Duke of *Vendosme* being the greater of the two, the one only left him, the other turn'd against him, and the whole body of them of the Religion declar'd it self against him, and actually help'd the other side: Moreover, his Parliament at *Paris* would not verifie his Edicts. Yet in the midst of all these straits; He marcheth resolutely from *Bordeaux* with his new Queen to joyn his army with *Bois Dauphin*, with a purpose either to present battaile to the adverse party, or to draw them to a treaty; *Espernon* met him in the way with 4000. foot, and 500. horse. The Duke of *Nevers* did very much labour and made journeys to and fro for an accomodation, and his endeavors took so good effect, that a Conference was agreed on at *Lodun*; where Commissioners were appointed, and did meet on both sides: in the interim the Duke of *Guyse* perform'd a notable exploit, with 2000. of the Kings prime horses, where-

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wherwith he set upon three Regiments of *Condés* at *Nantueil*, which he slew, took, and put to flight, carrying all their colours to the King for a present. Hereupon a suspension of arms was accorded through all the Kingdom, except in *Anjou*, *Perch*, and the frontiers of *Britany* where *Vendoſm* continued all acts of hostility, notwithstanding that he had his Deputy at the Conference.

The King was then advanc'd to *Chastel le Heraud*, where *Villeroy* deliver'd him the Articles of the Truce sign'd by the Princes, and where a Legat came from the Pope to deliver him the Imperial *Sword*, and to the Queen the *Rosetree of flowers, and leaves of gold*.

Thence the King went to *Blois* where after a long debate, an *Edict of Pacification* was publish'd upon the Treaty of *Lodun*, which consisted of 54. Articles, wherein all the Princes, with their adherents, as also They of the Religion found satisfaction, and divers persons of base condition were nominated therein, which the world cryed shame upon. By this *Edict* the King approv'd of all actions pass'd, as having bin done for his Service, and by consequence tacitly disavow'd what He and his Counsell had ordain'd to the contrary. The former *Arrests* of the Court of Parliament of *Paris* which the King had suspended were reestablish'd, and they of the Counsell of State annull'd, and many high demands were accorded to them of the Religion, The Chancellor *Sillery*, and divers others who were the Kings Favorits before, were outed of their offices.

Besides the said *Edict* there were also secret Articles condescended unto, containing rewards and honors to some particular men in lieu of punishment, and they were presented in a privat close way to the Parliament to be verified with the gra'n *Edict*, The Court wav'd them a while, but afterwards by expresse commandment of the Kings, and by a Declaration he made that those secret Articles contain'd no more then what was granted in the secret Articles of the *Edict* of *Nants* already verified by the same Court, the businesse pass'd, though with much reluctancy, for if those of *Nants* were verified, what need these being the same, have a second verification? This, as it were *enforc'd* Verification, was accompagnied with Letters Patents from the King in special favor to the Prince of *Condé*, and others Letters in favor of them of the Religion, by which his Majesty declar'd, *not to have understood his subjects of the Reform'd pretended Religion in the Oath and Protestation he had made at his Coronation, to employ his sword and power for the extirpation of heresies*; which put the world in an astonishment, because it made the meaning of the Taker of that Oath, and of the Prelat who administred it, to differ. This turn'd afterwards rather to the disadvantage then the benefit of the Demanders, for those hard and high termes which reflected so much upon the conscience of a yong King, stuck deep in his breast, nor could he ever digest them, as will appear in the ensuing Story: Nor was his honor thought much to suffer hereby, being newly come out of his nonage, little vers'd in the art of Government, and having not attain'd

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that courage and yeers which use to strike awe into Subjects.

This shrew'd tempest being pass'd, the weather brook up and clear'd; And the King brought his new Queen to *Paris*, having surmounted such a world of difficulties, and waded through a sea of troubles; he had bin absent thence neer upon a twelvemoneth, therefore you may well imagin with what joy, and triumph the Parisians receiv'd him; Observable it is that in this voyage the King notwithstanding that he had condescended to hard capitulations, yet he attain'd his main ends, which was to perfect the Alliance with Spain, and to fetch home his wife in safety; which he did maugre the great Martiall oppositions that were made by most of the Princes of France who malign'd the match.

In this year there happen'd some ill-favor'd jarrs in Italy twixt the Dukes of *Savoy*, and *Mantova*, about *Monferrat*; The King employed thither the Marquis of *Cœuvres* to compose the difference, but he return'd without doing any good, notwithstanding that the Ambassador of his Majesty of Great Britain joyn'd with him; He sent afterwards the Marquis of *Rambouillet*, who caried himself with more adresse, for he tamper'd with the affections of the French and Swisses, which made the better part of the Duke of *Savoys* army, with such dexterity, that the Duke entring into a diffidence of them, hearkned to a Treaty. *Don Pedro de Toledo* then Governor of *Milan* was arm'd for the *Mantovan*, and by this Treaty both Parties were to disband; in the interim if the *Spaniard* attempted any thing upon *Monferrat*, *France* should assist his Highnes of *Savoy*. But the *Spaniard* though he attempted nothing, yet he reinforc'd his Troupes, which struck an apprehension of fear into the *Venetians* (who of all Nations are most eagle-ey'd to foresee dangers) because there was a small difference twixt them, and the Archduke of *Grats* about the *Uscchi*, which made them confederat, and co-arme with the *Savoyard*: there were great Forces on both sides, and *Don Pedro* took *Verselli*, & *Damian*, but his Majesty of France employ'd thither *Mons. de Bethune*, who procur'd a Treaty in *Pavia* to that end, which took effect; but the *Spaniard* afterwards delaying to give up *Vercelli*, *Modene* *Luyes* kinsman was sent thither who did the work; The difference also twixt the Republic and the Archduke of *Grats* was accommoded by French intercession, so that in lesse then a twelve moneths, four Ambassadors went from *France* to *Italy*.

About this time the Lord *Hayes*, afterwards Earl of Carlile, came in a very splendid equippage to *Paris*, to congratulate, in his Majestie of Great Britain's name, 1. *The alliance with Spain*: 2. *The arrival of the new Queen*: 3. *The Kings return to Paris*: 4. *The end of the late wars*. The French Chroniclers relate that his chiefeft arrand was to propound a Match between the Prince of *Wales*, (now King of *England*) and the Lady *Christina*, second daughter to *Henry the Great*; but they are much mistaken; for the said Ambassador might happily have instructions to look upon and view the said Lady, bat for any

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overture of mariage, much lesse any proposition there was none, the intents of *England* ayiming then more southward, and there was matter enough for an Ambassador extraordinary besides at that time.

The King, the two Queens, and the whole Court being now settled at *Paris*, the discontented Princes repair'd also thither, but *Conde* being newly recovered of a dangerous sickness, (which some took as a judgement upon him) lagg'd behind, and excus'd his coming till all the Articles of the late Treaty were perform'd, whereunto the King may be said to be no lesse then compell'd, being, among other ties forc'd to revoke part of the solemn Oth he took at his Coronation, that therby they of the Religion might rest contented: At last *Conde* came, and was entred into a perfect reintegration of grace and favor at Court with the rest of his Confederats.

So after such turbid times there was an intervall of faire weather, but the Ayer was suddenly ore'cast again with cloudes, and the chief Meteor whence they sprung was the power and privacy of the *Marshall of Ancre* at Court. The Queen Mother had advice of certain clandestine meetings, and secret consultations held to alter the Government, and to demolish *Ancre*; hereupon *Themines* (who receiv'd the Truncheon to be Marshall the same day) apprehended the Prince of *Conde* in the *Louvre*, and carried him thence to prison, the report hereof startled divers others, and old *Bovillon* being then at a Sermon in *Charenton*, durst not come back to look upon the *Bastile*; so he with the Dukes of *Mayn*, *Nevers*, *Guyse* and divers other retir'd and arm'd under pretence of reforming of abuses in the State, and for the public good. Poore France, how often hath privat interest of some aspiring spirits bin term'd in thee by the specious name of Public good? How often have thy discontented *Grandeues* ground the faces of thy innocent peasants? How often hast thou turn'd the sword into thine own bowels, and swom in the blood of thine own children? How often have thy Towns bin turn'd to Hospitals, thy fields to desarts under the gilded pretext of Reformation?

The arrest of *Conde* alarm'd all France, and a politic rumour was spread in *Paris* that the Marshall of *Ancre* had murder'd him in the *Louvre*, though he was then at *Amiens* 100. miles off. This made the *Beast* with many heads run furiously to his House in the suburbs of Saint *German*, which they sack'd and plunder'd most pitifully, they unplank'd his roomes, grub'd up his trees, and committed divers barbarismes besides. The King caus'd a Declaration to be publish'd full of vigorous expressions tending to this purpose.

Lewis by the grace of God King of France and Navarr, to all who shall see these present Letters, greeting. It is with incredible regret which pierceth Our very heart, that We must so often employ Our Authority to repress the mischievous desseins of them, who seek the raising of their fortunes, in the ruines of Our Estates, and in the prodigious cruelty of civill wars, take an unbridled libertie to doe what law and reason forbids: And We are the more sensible hereof, because the remedies We must use, for the safety of our Person, and the welfare of this Kingdom, must diffame our own blood, and

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render it culpable of impiety both against Us, who are in place of a Father to our subjects, as also against their own Countrey which is reverend as a Mother by all people though never so barbarous.

So he goes on to relate the Treaty at Lodun, and the last Pacification which had cost him twenty millions of Liures; and what grace he had done to Conde and his Complices.

Yet the exces of Our grace and favor hath not bin able to repress the disorderly wills of them, who find no rest but in trouble, and ground their hopes upon Our destruction: for before and after the return of Our Cousin the Prince of Conde to Paris, there have bin Nocturnall Assemblies held in Saint Martin and other places with consultations to debauch and abuse the people, and undermine those who have Martiall Offices under us, and to excite them to commotion; Curats and Preachers have bin tampered with all to vent scandalous Doctrin, and meanes were consulted on to seize upon Our Royall Person, and our most honored Mother, and to Cantonize France under the specious wayle of reforming the State: All which hath bin told us by some of the best of Our subjects who were present at some of their consultations, and close meetings; And We were also advis'd by forren Ambassadors to have a care of our self; &c.

This was the substance of the Kings Declaration, but all would not do, to contain the Princes within the bounds of obedience, many of them had retir'd to Picardy, and seiz'd upon divers places which they fortified apacé. A little after the Prince of Conde was clap'd up, the Duke of Vendosm was seiz'd on, but he scap'd by a wile; The Chancellor and Secretaries of State with other Officers were chang'd; And in this hurly burly the young Bishop of Lucon afterwards Cardinal of Richelieu, having bin design'd for Ambassador to Spain, was made principall Secretary of State.

The Marshal of Ancre, notwithstanding that he had understood how he was hated in Paris, and that his House was so plunder'd in a popular furie, yet was he nothing daunted, but comes boldly to Court, and presently three Armies were rais'd and appointed to repress the Mutiners; One under the Duke of Guyse who was charm'd to come in by the Queen Mother: The second under Marshall Montigny; and the third under the Count of Auvergne, (who was freed from his 11. yeers close imprisonment in the Bastile for that purpose) and had already besieg'd the Duke of Mayne at Soissons, and much straitned him.

While this huge storme was dropping pitifully upon poor France, there were seeret consultations held by some in the Louvre how to hurle Him into the Sea who was the cause of the tempest, which was cryed up to be the foresaid Ancre.

He knew too well how he was malign'd in Court and Countrey, and the young Kings affection towards him began now to brandle, and all this was by the suggestions of Luyne, who was one of the greatest Confidant the King had, having bin his servant from his childhood, and was vers'd in his genius more then any: Ancre had pra-

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etis'd to remove him from the Kings Person, with some others whom he suspected to do him ill offices.

Besides this fewd 'twixt the King and Princes, there was another petty war then a foot betwixt the Duke of *Espernon*, and the *Rochellers*, the ground whereof was that they would not acknowledge him Governor of the Countrey of *Aunis*, and of their Town, which he pretended to derive by Patent from the raign of *Henry* the third. He had also a grudge unto them that they had debauch'd the conscience of the Count of *Candalle* his son by inducing him to abjure his Religion, and to professe theirs; *Espernon* was commanded to wave that quarrel, and to come to assist against the Princes: divers others were wrought upon to abandon their party; amongst the rest the Duke of *Nevers* was much fought, and herefusing, he was accus'd to have said, *That he was descended of a better House then the Queen Mother*; which he utterly disavowed, and offer'd to combat the raiser of that report in Duel.

The obloquy and hatred of *Ancre* encreased daily, and the executing of Colonel *Stuard* and *Hurtvant*, with erecting of new gibets in divers places about *Paris*, and one upon the new Bridge hard by the *Louvre* in *terrorem*, ---- all which was imputed to the Marshall of *Ancre*; exasperated the humors of the Parisians against him more and more, in so much that it was an easie thing to be a Prophet what would become of him. *Luynes* with others at Court infusd daily new thoughts of diffidence of him into the young King, who had taken exception at some personall comportment of his, by putting on his Hat when he play'd with him at Biliards: so in a close Cabinet consultation twixt the King, *Luynes*, and *Vitry* who was Captain of his Guard, the King gave him command to seize upon the said Marshall of *Ancre*, and in case of resistance to kill him; The businesse was carried wonderfull close, and two dayes after the Marshall entring the *Louvre*, *Vitry* was prepar'd with his guard about him, and while the Marshall was reading of a Letter, *Vitry* comes and grapples him by the shoulder, and told him he was commanded by the King to arrest him; Me: said *Ancre*, *yes you by the death of God, (mort Dieu)* repli'd *Vitry*: hereupon *Ancre* laying his hand upon his sword to deliver it, as most thought, *Vitry* with a loud voyce cri'd out, Kill him, thereupon he received three Pistols shots into his body, and was presently dispatch'd; *Vitry* with naked sword in his hand cri'd out, that none should stir, For he had executed but the Kings commands. Hereupon those hundred gentlemen which had attended the Marshall that morning to the Queens Court where he was us'd to go the back way slunk away: and not one drawn sword appear'd amongst them.

The King being above in a gallery and hearing a noise below, ask'd what the matter was: one answerd, that the Marshall of *Ancre* was kill'd, and being told the manner, he said, I will make good what *Vitry* hath done, and giving a caper, he said, *I am now King of France, I have no competitor*. *Vitry* presently after broke into *Leonora's* chamber

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ber *Ancre*s wife seiz'd upon her person, upon all her Trunks and Cabinets, where in gold, and jewels there was the value of above an hundred thousand pounds sterling. Her Chamber was next the Queen Mothers, who sending in for *Vitry*, ask'd him without any shew of difmay *whether he had kill'd the Marshall*; Yes Madame, said he: and why? *because the King had commanded me.*

*Ancre*s body was buried in a little Church hard by the *Louure*, and stones laid and flatted upon the grave, but the next morning, the laquays of the Court, and rabble of the City, came and digg'd up his coffin, toare his winding sheet, and dragg'd his body through the gutters, and hang'd it upon the new gibet which he had commanded to be set up upon the new bridge, where they cut off his nose, eares, and genitories, which they sent for a Present to the Duke of Mayne at Soissons, and nayl'd his eares to the gates of *Paris*, the rest of his body was burn'd, and part of the ashes hurl'd into the river, and part into the ayer. His wife was then imprison'd, search'd and raz'd for a Witch, though little or no proofs (God wot) were produc'd against her, only that she employ'd some Jews; as also that she had bewitch'd a Spanish Ginet the Duke of Mayn had at Soissons which he should have mounted one morning, but Mounfier *Maurice* his son who was Keeper of one of the chiefest Academies of *Paris* riding him before, and the Horfe having pranc'd and curvetted a good while under him, he suddenly fell, gave a grone and so breath'd his last, and the Rider was taken up for dead, and continued in a sleepey trance 48. houres together. So she was also executed afterwards, and the difference twixt her husband and her was this, that she had the favor to dye after Sentence was given, and he before, for his indictment was made after his death, and then his sentence pass'd when he was in tother world.

Thus *Conchino Conchini* (a Florentin born) Marquis of *Ancre*, and Marshall of France was demolish'd, or rather extinguish'd, in a most disastrous manner, and his wife *Leonora Galligay* beheaded, who shew'd a notable Roman resolution at the block; their estate, which was not above four thousand pound sterling *per an.* was given to *Luynes* most part of it; They left one only male child who being young was sent to Italy, where he lives to this day in a Noble equipage by the title of Earl of *Pena*: though pronounced ignoble in France by an arrest of the Court of Parliament: A stout man this Marquis of *Ancre* was, a good Soldier, and a compleat Courtier, he was endowed with divers good parts, only he wanted moderation, and therein he did degenerat from an Italian.

There were divers censures abroad of this act of the young Kings, and indeed it was the worst thing he did in all his life, being an act fitter for the *Seraglio*, then his Castle of the *Louure*: for the wisest sort of men wonder'd that he should stain the walls of his Court, with a Christians blood in that manner, without any legall proceeding against the party. He sent Letters to the severall Princes that were in arms, to content them, as also to satisfie the world; and all of them of this tenor following.

My

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My Cousin, I doubt not but in the cours of affairs which have pass'd since the death of the late King my Lord and Father (whom God absolve) you have observ'd how the Marshall of Ancre and his wife, abusing my minority, and the power which they acquir'd upon the spirit of the Queen my Mother, have projected to usurp all authority, to dispose absolutely of all matters of State, and to deprive me of the means to take cognisance of mine own affairs; a dessein which they have push'd on so far, that hitherto there hath remain'd unto me but the sole name of a King, and that it was a kind of capital crime for my Officers and subjects to have acces unto me, and to entertain me with any serious discours; which it pleasing God to make me perceive, and to point out the danger which my Person and State were like to incur by such an exorbitant ambition, being compell'd by some considerations, and inspir'd by Counsel from above, I resolv'd to secure the person of the said Marshall, and therefore I commanded the Captain of my Guard to arrest him within my Castle the Louvre; which he attempting to do, the said Marshall being well accompagnied offer'd to oppose my said command, and certain blows being given the said Marquis fell down dead, &c. So he tells him that he intends for the future to take the reins of Government into his own hands. Wherefore he exhorts him to returne neer his Person, and take his due rank in Court and Counsell. And concludes that if he renders proofs answerable to the esteem he makes of his affection towards him, he will be ready to acknowledge it.

Many Letters went abroad from the King of this tenor, and they took such effect that all arms were thrown down every where, and the Princes repair'd to Court: Now and not before it may be said that the King began to raigin: by this change, France chang'd her countenance, old Officers were restor'd to their places; Sillery was made Chancellor again, Du Vair, and Villeroy were restor'd with divers others; and the Bishop of Lucon left the Secretariship of State, and retir'd, though he was offer'd to be still of the Privy Counsell if he would stay. The Queen Mother shew'd her self a true Queen of her passions herein, for though her favourit, and foster sister were torn away from her thus, yet such was her temper, that she discover'd no extraordinary resentment, that which she said, she took ill was, *that the King did not impart unto her his intentions, for she would willingly have concurr'd to do all things to his contentment*; The King appointed her the Castle of Blois to reside in, and coming to take his leave of her, *he thanked her for the pains she had taken in Government, but he resolv'd to sit now at the helme himself, and if she would be a good Mother to him, she should find him a good Son.*

The Marchiones of Ancre was not executed till the Queen was gone from Paris, at her arraignment she shew'd an Amazonian courage, and the subtilty of her spirit put all men in admiration; she denied, *with much disdain, all kind of witchcraft and sorcery*, (and indeed the proofs were little or none at all against her) *She confess'd that she had convey'd some moneys out of the Kingdom, but it was either for the Kings service, or for her own utility; for the first, it deserv'd rather a reward,*

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ward, for the second there was no law against any stranger to do the like; she acknowledg'd to have receiv'd divers favors of the Queen her Mistresse in whose service she had employ'd her whole life, and to receive favors from great Princes was never held a crime till now; she often dehorted her husband from some violent courses he took, which made her make a separation of her estate from his, fearing that some funestous accident might befall him; but it being granted that she had conceal'd the defaults of her husband; there was never any law that could punish, much lesse condemn a wife for that; In conclusion, she defended herself with that caution and courage, that many of the Judges were of opinion that banishment was enough for her; but the quality of the times, and state of things transported the Judges to extraordinary rigor.

Upon the Scaffold she carried herself with such a scorn of death, and with that exemplary piety and patience, that she mollified the hearts of all the spectators, and sent hundreds away with wet eyes, amongst whom were divers of those who had embrued their hands so barbarously in her husbands blood.

Vitry had the Truncheon to be Marshall of France hereupon, and out of the ruins of *Ancre* *Luynes* rais'd his fortunes, which may be said to be three stories higher, for he suddenly hois'd not only himself but his two brethren, *Cadenet* & *Brand*, to an incredible height, which made one fix upon the *Louvre* gate this pasquill *Aux trois Rois*, at the the three Kings; some cryed out that the tyranny was not chang'd but only the tyrant; *That the same Tavern stood still, only it had a new bush.*

Luynes had given him the Marquisat of *Ancre*, and all the Stable possessions of the Marshal: but *Du Vair* a good while would not let it passe the Great Seal, in regard that by an *Arrest* of the Court of Parliament all their Stable goods were confiscated and reunited to the Crown, and he stood stiffe in this untill the King had given him the Bishoprick of *Lyseux*, and having then fixed the Seal, the French Pasquin began to tell him, *Et Homo factus sum*; a little after the King married his Favorit *Luynes* to the Duke of *Montbazons* daughter; He gave the Duke twenty thousand pound sterling, and made him Governor of the *Ile* of France, the Duke of *Main* being translated to *Guyen*.

The King desiring to be in good intelligence with all his Subjects, fell upon a new reach of Policy by the advice of his Counsell, which was, that in regard he had found that the Assembly of the *States General* brought with it more trouble then utility, in regard of the discrepant humors and interests which such a number of men of various conditions, Professions and Religions carried with them, instead of the *States General*, he convokes an *Assembly* of *notables* as he term'd it, compos'd of some selected Persons out of every Order, whereunto should be added some Counsellor out of every Court of Parliament. Which being fewer in number would not breed such a confusion; And this Assembly should be equipollent to that of the *States General*, and their acts so obligatory. To this end the Kings Writs were issued out,

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out, the day and place appointed which was the Citie of *Roven*; All solemnly met there in the Archbishops Hall; where after the King, the Chancellor made a grave Oration, that his Majesties pious intentions to call them thither, was to regulat and police the State, and to ease the Subject. The first four daies were spent in settling the ranks of the Deputies; and a great clash fell twixt the *Nobles*, and the Deputies of Parliaments, whom the *Nobles* said they had reason to precede, in regard they took them to be but Members of the *third Estate*; but they disavow'd that qualitie; and stood to their Soverain Jurisdiction which extended over the *Nobles* as well as other persons; nor could they be call'd the third Estate, because they never us'd to meet in the Assembly of the *States General*; The *Nobles* alledg'd the lustre of their birth, the excellence of the Profession of Armes above the gown, strengthening their cause with divers other arguments: but the difference being left undecided, the King resolv'd that the *Nobles* should be plac'd about the Person of the King; but with this proviso; that it should not prejudice the second rank they have by Fundamentall right. In the convention of the *States General*, w^{ch} is next the Clergie; and for delivering of Opinions, the King inordred, that in matters concerning the Church the *Clergie* should vote first, in matters of War the *Nobles*, in matters of *Law* the Officers of Justice, in matters of the *Revenue* of the Crown, the Exchequer men, and Financiers.

In this Assembly were agitated and concluded many wholsome things; First,

1. That the Secret affairs of State be communicated to few, and those of known probity, and prudence, for fear of discovery.

2. That the expence of the Kings House, and the salary of Military men be regulated.

3. That Pensions be retrench'd.

4. That a course be taken to regulat gifts and rewards which are to be made in silver.

5. That it be illegal to sell any Offices in the Kings House, in War, or Government.

6. That reversion of Offices, and Benefices be restrain'd, because it gives occasion to attempt upon the lives of the living Incumbents, and takes away the Kings Liberty, to advance persons of merit, taking also from the persons themselves, the encouragement of doing better by hope of advancement.

7. That the Annuel right be suppress'd.

8. That the venality of Offices be prohibited.

9. That small wrangling Courts; and the number of Pettifoggers be retrench'd, and that all causes be brought to the Soverain Courts.

These in grosse were the Results of this Assembly which proceeded with a great deal of harmony, the King himself was present most of the time, and in his absence *Monsieur* presided; There pass'd also a Law to permit the Jesuits to open their Colledge of *Clermont* in *Paris*, and to indoctrinat young youth in the Sciences; But the Universitie of *Paris* to make this Edict illusory, made two Decrees, by the first,

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it was ordred that none should be admitted to the course of Theologie; unlesse he have studied three yeers under the public Professors of the Faculty of Theologie in *Sorbon*; and that he be put to his oath not to have studied in any other Colledg. The second was, A prohibition to all Principals of Colledges, for admitting any, but those that go to the Lectures of the Professors of the said Universitie, and that none shall enjoy the Priviledges of Scholarity if he studieth not under those Professors. An indifferent moderat man said that there was no way to end this quarrell, but that the Jesuits might be united to the body of the Universitie, and so submit themselves entirely to their Laws and Ordinances.

We will conclude this *lustre* with a horrible fire that hapned in the Citie of *Paris* in the chief Palace of *Justice*, it rag'd most in the great Hall where the Lawyers and Counsellors use to meet, where also the Statues of the Kings of France are set up, and are rank'd according to the times of their raig in excellent Sculpture; all which were utterly reduc'd to cendres, with the Table of Marble about which the Judges were us'd to sit; The cause of this fire is to this day unknown; but it might be very well interpreted to be a visible judgment from heaven upon that place and Palace for the hard measure of Justice, the Marshall of *Ancre* and his Lady had received a little before; Which makes me call to mind a Latin verse, I have read upon a Stat-House in *Delph* in Holland, which had bin burnt in like maner and reedified, not one other house about it receiving any hurt.

*Civè, quid, invito, proh sola, redarguit asta
Hac Domus, illas is aliis
Discite Jusstitiam moniti, & non temnere Divos.*

An end of the second *Lustre*.

ordered by the King of France

The third *Lustre* of the Raig of Lewis

the thirteenth.

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VVE ended the last *Lustre* with the end of the old Palace of Justice in *Paris*, by an unknown furious fire, which made the disaster more horrid. We will begin this with bone-fires of joy, for the Mariage of the Lady *Christina*, second daughter of *Henry the Great*, to the Prince of *Piedmont*, who came in Person to *Paris* to do his own business: he comported himself with that addresse, that politenes, that bravery of spirit accompagnied with such gentlenes, that he gain'd much upon the French Nation; The business was not long a finishing; for *Henry the Great* was well pleas'd with an ouverture that had bin made formerly by the said Prince for the Eldest daughter, who was married to *Spain*. She had for her Dower 1200. thousand French *liures*, which comes to one hundred and twenty thousand pound

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pound sterling; besides the rich jewels she caried with her.

The Queen Mother was all this while at *Blois*; and som ombrages of distrust hung 'twixt the King and her; for the Bishop of *Lucon* being by command removed from her, Mounſieur *Roissy* was sent expreſſy by the King to attend her, whom the Queen took to be no other then a kind of Spy, to watch over her actions; nor was she invited to the marriage of her daughter, which was solemniz'd at *Paris*; and with this mariage it seems the King did consummat his own by bedding with the Queen his wife, which he had not done since he had married her at *Burdeaux* almost four yeers before, where he lay with her only two hours; and though this was done for fear it should hinder his growth, and enervat his strength, yet there were some whispers that it was done with an intent to be divorc'd from her, and *Luyneſ* was blamed for it; Hereupon he finding the King one night inclinable, took him out of his bed in his armes, and casting his nightgown over him he carried him to the Queens bed; The *Nuncio*, and Spaniſh Ambaſſador were so joy'd at this, that they preſently diſpatch'd expreſſes to carry the news, and boneſiers were made thereupon both in *Rome*, and *Madrid*, for there were some ſurmises abroad that so long a ſeparation from bed, would turn in time to an averſion, which might draw after it a repudiation, and ſo a divorce.

While the King was thus confirming his own, and celebrating his ſiſters Nuptials in *Paris*, there were tydings brought that his Mother got out of *Blois* Caſtle, and was convey'd away ſecretly in the night through a window which was towards the moate, where she glided down a good height upon a counter ſcarp, and ſo made an eſcape. The King had ſent Father *Arnoul* the director of his conſcience a little before under colour of complement to viſit her, but the deſign was to draw from her a ſolemn oath, that she would not come to the Kings Court without his preadventiſement, and approbation, which oath she took upon the Evangelists: He ſent her alſo word, that he and the Prince of *Piemont* now her ſon in law would come to viſit her; but she knew well enough how matters were carried at Court, and ſo she gave little credit to thoſe endearments, fearing there was too ſtrong a drug under the pill.

Her eſcape was trac'd by *Eſpernon* the little Gaſcon Duke who had bin from the beginning a great ſervant of Ladies, there had bin divers claiſhings and counterbuffs 'twixt him and the gown-men of the law; amongſt others *Du Vair* the then Lord Keeper and he could not agree; *Du Vair* did him ill offices to *Luyneſ*, who began to malign him more and more. So the little Duke had two mighty enemies at once, the one full of cunning, the other of credit with the King; therefore being at the Town of *Metz*, the King ſent him order not to ſtir thence, becauſe there were like to be wars in Germany; *Eſpernon* ſent answer that he being in the next place to Germany had receiv'd certain advice that there are no commotions like to be there; that his Majeſties ſervice, and his own affairs were all in a diſarray in

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Guyen, and that he knew not in what to serve him there, *unlesse it were to convey his packets to and fro*; Therefore he humbly desir'd his Majesties permission to go for *Guyen* whither some pressing occasions call'd him, and that *LaVallette* his son shall render him a good account of that place.

The Queen Mother and he had much privat intelligence, and she sent him an expresse to complain unto him of her hard condition, and withall she sent the Originall of a late Letter unto her from the King, wherein he permits her to go to any Town or place throughout his Dominions (his own Court excepted), so in conclusion she prays and conjures him *as he was a Cavalier* to help her out, and conduct her to *Angoulesme*. The old Duke was glad of this advantageous conjuncture of things, therefore without any further attendance of the Kings pleasure, he suddenly leaves *Metz* commanding the Gates to be close shut for two dayes after his departure, and so went towards the Queen Mother with a resolution to intermingle his interests and dangers with hers; So he employ'd *le Plessis* a confident of his, who receiv'd the Queen first of all out of the Castle window, and convey'd her over the river in the dead of night, where she met the Archbishop of *Tholouse* after Cardinal *de la Valette* with 15. horse, and a little further the Duke himself with 60. great horse, for he would have no more, for making too great a noise, so he attended her to *Angoulesme*.

The King resented to the quick this presumption and hardinesse of the Duke, who being asked how he durst venture upon so dangerous an enterprize, he answer'd, *Because I would have two cables to my Ship in a storme that was like to fall upon me*. The King hereupon frames an army to chastise the insolence of *Espernon*; the Duke of *Guyse* was commanded to come from *Province*, and the Duke of *Mayn* from *Guien*, to meet him about *Angoulesme* with forces. Some held it to be a derogatory and unbefitting thing in the King to keep such a stir for to have a revenge upon his own Mother, and upon a Vassal, and an old Officer of the Crown, and so advis'd his Majesty to go thither with his ordinary Guards: Others counsel'd him to separat the interests of the Queen Mother from the Dukes, and to send a person of quality to her to dispose of her to a conformity to his pleasure, and to leave the Duke to stand upon his own legs. To which purpose divers were sent unto her from the King, but in vain, for she could never be brought to abandon the interests of *Espernon* who had expos'd himself to such dangers for her: Hereupon the Bishop of *Lucon* (afterwards Cardinal of *Richelieu*) who was retir'd to *Avignon*, and had been in great esteem with her formerly, was sent for by the Kings command to attend the Queen, and being a man of eloquence, and of powerfull reasons, he moulded the Queens mind as he pleas'd, and fitted it for a reconciliation; being thus prepar'd, the King sent *Marossan* unto her to assure her of the obedience and love of a Son; and withall to demand of her a dimission of the government of Normandy for other places

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places which she should have in exchange. She ask'd *Marossan* whether he brought any letters from the King about that; he said no; because the King at the first interview would speake with her by word of mouth about it; but he was resolv'd not to write to her: and why so? replied the Queen. Madame, said he, *I have not in charge to tell you the reason, but if you command me I will*; You will do me a pleasure, said she; It is, Madame, because the King having written unto you a letter full of affection at Blois wherein he was willing you might go into any other place within his Kingdom, you gave the letter to the Duke of *Espernon*, thereby to afford him means to colour his conveying you away from Blois and conduct you hither; for fear therefore that you would doe the like again, he is resolv'd to write no more unto you of any matter of moment.

The Queen enlarg'd her self upon that subject, saying, That any body would do as she did being in captivitie, there being nothing that the brute animals desire more then freedom, and therefore this inclination was not to be wondred at in rationall creatures; so she came to the point and conform'd her self to the Kings desires in every thing.

Matters being brought to this passe, the King suffer'd the Prince of *Piemont* to go visit her, which he had long desir'd with much impatience; being come with his brother Prince *Thomaso* neer *Angoulesme*, *Espernon* with a hundred great horse went to meet them, in a handsome equippage; The Prince stay'd there some dayes to wait upon his new Mother in law, and at his departure she gave him a Diamond of high price which was the Emperour *Ferdinands* her Grandfather's, and so he return'd to the King.

A while after there was an interview appointed 'twixt the King and his Mother at *Consieres* a House of the Duke of *Monbazons* in *Touraine*; The Duke of *Espernon* attended her to the farthest limits of his government; and at parting she gave him a rich Diamond; conjuring him never to part with it, but that it might be preserv'd from father to son as an eternall gage of her gratitude, and in memory of the gallant and most signal service which he had render'd her to the hazard of his life and fortune: The Duke us'd to wear the said Diamond afterwards upon his finger in a ring upon festivall dayes which he said cost him two hundred thousand Crowns.

The Queen being come to the place of meeting, *Luynes* who was now made Duke and Peer of France, and Governor of *Normandy*, was sent from the King before-hand; after his first audience the Queen brought him to her Cabinet where she melted into passion, and complain'd of the hard usage she had receiv'd, which she would quite forget; yet she could not refrain from falling still upon the mention of her hard usage, which did her no good afterwards, for *Luynes* thereby fear'd that matters pass'd had taken such lasting impressions in her, that they could never be defac'd; and considering the vindicatif spirits of the Nation whence she came, he still mistrusted if she return'd to Court, she would project some way of revenge, &c. The King came the next day in Coach with the young Queen, his two Sisters, and

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and the two Princes of Savoy, to the House where the Queen was, and there was a compleat glorious Court; the mutual demonstrations and postures of tendernes which Mother and Son shew'd at their first interview; melted the hearts of all the Spectators. A few daies after all parted, the King and his Queen towards Paris, the Queen Mother to Angers, and the Princes of Piemont put themselves in their journey to crosse the Alps.

A little after the Prince of Condé was enlarg'd, and the King sent him this Letter by his Favorit. My Cosen, *I will not tell you how much I love you, you see it. I send my Cosen the Duke of Luynes unto you, who knows all the secrets of my heart, and will open them unto you: Come away as soon as you can, for I expect you with impatience, in the interim I will pray God to preserve you in his holy grace.*

Louis.

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Luynes having taken his oath as Duke and Peer of France in the Court of Parliament, he moved the King to perfect the number of the Cavaliers of his Order, the Order of the Holy Ghost, who being an hundred by the primitive institution were now diminished to twenty eight; so there were divers more created to the number of fifty nine, whereof Luynes two brothers Cadenet and Brande were two: Luynes plot was to ingratiate himself hereby into the Nobility, but it prov'd otherwise, for the Competitors that were excluded, grew to be more bitterly his foes, then they who were instal'd Knights became his friends. Much murmuring also was at his two brothers, this Order being the next degree to bring one to be Duke and Peer of France. As the Ceremonies of these new Knights were a performing, the two Princes of the blood, Condé and Soissons being at Court, as the King was ready to sit down at diner, the Steward of the Household deliver'd the towell to Soissons to give the King; Condé perceiving it, would have had it from him, but he would not part with it, so they fell to high words, one saying it was his right as he was *prime Prince of the blood*, the other as he was *gran Master of France*; as they were debating the point in hot termes, the King sent for his brother, to whom the Count of Soissons deliver'd it; so with much ado the King made them both friends upon the place, and the next day many hundreds of Gentlemen appearing on horseback, and offering their service on both sides; there came out a strict Order from the King, there should be no more stirring in the businesse.

It fortun'd about this time that the young Queen fell sick, and there were extraordinary Offices of devotion performed for her recovery; and a generall Procession Ordred, where the whole Court of Parliament assisted in their red robes: The Queen being recover'd she employed the fifteen thousand Crowns which the King had given her for a ball to works of Piety and Charity.

The Kings Exchequer was at a very low ebbe at this time, whereupon there came out an Edict call'd the *Bursall Edict* which tended to raise

raife money, and the King mistrusting the verification of it by the Court of Parliament, went thither himself in great state, where the Lord Keeper made a speech a bout it: The Prime President answer'd him boldly, *That the Court receiv'd violence to verifie such Edicts without any precedent deliberation, that being well assur'd of the goodnes and justice of his Majesty the Court imputed this disorder to ill counsell, and therefore desired the names of them who gave him this damnable counsell should be given up and registred in Parliament to be proceeded against accordingly;* Serwin the Kings Advocat was more hardy, saying, *That his Majesty did wrong himself to come to Parliament to authorise by his presence, that which could not be done with reason and justice.*

Yet the *Edict* pass'd, and that afternoon, the Court of Parliament was commanded to wait at the *Louure*, where his Majestie told them, *That he was ill edified by their Remonstrances, which he found very insolent;* The Lord Keeper told them, *That to some ill purpose they thought to separate the King from his Counsell, by blaming the one, and exempting the other, for being inseparable, the offence must bring the blow upon both together, a thing not to be endured by a Soverain Prince, who is to expect punctuall obedience from his subjects;* so the prime President making a large apologie, at last they were dismiss'd, with recovery of the Kings grace.

The prodigious and violent promotions of *Luynes* in dignity, power, wealth and command, made him the object of envy to some, of hatred to others, of amazement to all; nor was he contented to hoise himself so, but he must pully up his two brothers along with him; so there was a kind of generall discontentment fomented in the hearts of the people, which was aggravated by the late shift the King had made to get money, and the clash he had with the Parliament of *Paris*; so mens minds were susceptible and ready to receive any impressions of mislike against the present Government. The Duke of *Mayn* had a particular discontentment, that *Cadenet*, afterwards Duke of *Chenne* which was erected into a Pairrie a *Peership* of France, had married the Heireffe of *Beguigny*, whom he had sought for wife; so he with divers other Princes started out and put themselves in armes; the Count of *Soissons*, *Vendosm*, and the *Gran Prior* of France his brother (both naturall sons to the last King) went to the Queen Mother at *Angers*, who quickly entred into the league; They of the Religion offer'd her conjunctive forces, which she wai'd, but the Duke of *Mayn* presently accepted of them, which made his army swell to 12000. and upwards.

Hereupon the King sent the Duke of *Montbazon* to invite the Queen Mother to Court, and to assist in Counsell, but she excus'd herself by indisposition of body (though it was only of mind:) He sent again the Archbishop of *Sens* unto Her with a second invitation to Court and he would meet her in the way as far as *Orleans*, but she continued still distrustfull, and jealous of some plot upon her, thinking that

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Fistula dulce canit, volucrum dum decipit Auceps.

She inveighs bitterly against the present Favorites how they exhausted the Kings Treasure, offended most of the Princes, and dispos'd of all offices and honors, making men of mean extraction lately Knights of the Holy Spirit, and excluding ancient Gentlemen of merit; these complaints she couch'd and enlarg'd in two Letters, one to the King himself, the other to the Parliament of *Paris*, which the Court would not open but sent them to the King.

The discontented Princes grew daily more and more powerfull, so it was high time for the King to get a Horsback, which he did, and march'd first to *Normandy*, where the Duke of *Longueville* had arm'd, having bin at the Parliament of *Roven*, to tell them that the ground of his grievance, as of the rest of the Princes, was the indirect and violent means that *Luynes* us'd to establish his own authority, and advance his monstrous fortune, &c. *Longueville* understanding the King was advancing to *Roven* retir'd to *Diep* with three hundred Gentlemen, who thought to make the Town of *Roven* to side with them, but the Kings presence scared them all away; There the King sate himself in Parliament, and suspended *Longueville* of the Government of that great *Province*, and put also divers of his Complices out of Office; And so having secur'd *Roven*, he went to *Caen* where the *Gran Prior* had put a strong garrison in the Castle to stand for the Princes, *Crecquy* had laid a siege to the Castle before the King came, and held it hot play, for the Castle was extremly well fortified both with bones and stones; The King immediatly upon his arrival sent *Prudent*, whom the *Gran Prior* had plac'd in the said Castle, a summon to render it, *Prudent* refus'd, hereupon there was a Proclamation publish'd, *That whosoever would bring Prudent living or dead unto the King, he should have a reward of ten thousand crowns*; This made *Prudent* tremble, and to apprehend some danger within, as well as from without, for the sound of ten thousand crowns made a mighty noise, and might work upon the garrison it self. So he sent to *Crecquy* to know truly of him, whether the King was there in person or no, *For if he were, he had rather die twenty deaths then hinder the triumph of his first arms*, so he gave up the Castle without capitulation, and the King pardoned all: some gave advise to raze the Castle, but being built at first to stay and repell the Forces of the *English*, and being fair, large and strong, it was suffer'd to stand, for it might be serviceable again against that Nation.

The report of taking *Caen Castle* added much to the Kings honor, and struck a terror in the Mutineers. He march'd thence to *Mans* and thence towards *Angers* to his Mother, in the way there were six or seven Castles that discharg'd their garrisons, and rang'd themselves to the Kings obedience. Being at *Mans* there came some Gentlemen to tell him from the Queen Mother that she was ready to conform her self to his Majesties pleasure, and therefore desir'd a Treaty with this proviso; that all the rest who were now in Arms for her assistance might be included in the Articles; The King sent her word, that as

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he distinguish'd her Person from theirs who were now in rebellion against him, so he would separat her interests from theirs; for he well considered that she was his mother, they but his subjects; qualittes so distant, that it was not fitting to confound them, and involve her in the same Treaty. Yet nevertheless he was willing to be gracious to all for what was pass'd, provided they would incontinently disarm, and implore mercy. *Luynes* also sent her a Complement by the same messenger, *That there was no desire so ardent in him, as to see her again with the King, as well for her own contentment, as for the repose of the Realm;* But notwithstanding this gracious proffer, they stood still in arms in *Angers* where there were eight thousand foot, and one thousand two hundred horse well appointed, and a great confluence of Nobles. *Angers* being a huge vast Town, and the royal Army being but sixteen thousand foot, and one thousand five hundred horse, the Counsell of War determ'd, that it was more advantagious to attaque *Pont de Cé* not far of, then lye down before *Angers*; So *Creguy* was sent with fifteen Bataillons to that purpose, there was a furious fight twixt the *Sons Forces* and the *Mothers*; at last the *Son* prevail'd, and entirely routed the enemy with slaughter of five hundred men; the next day the Castle of *Pont de Cé* rendred it self, the garrison was us'd very favorably, and all the Domestic Officers of the Queen Mother who had born Arms there, were sent unto her for a present.

• There was then a resolution to set upon *Angers*, but the King would not hearken unto it while his Mother was in the Town; Hereupon She sent the Cardinal of *Sourdis*, and the Bishop of *Lucon* to the King to tell him, *That She threw herself between his arms, to submit her will and all her inclinations to his Commands, beseeching his Majesty that his grace might extend to all those that had assisted her.* The King condescended to every thing, pass'd an Act of Abolition of all former faults, and the Articles of the Treaty were sent to *Paris* to be verified by the Court of Parliament; So the Son and the Mother had another interview at *Brissac*, where their actions, port, gesture, words and tears, wrought much upon the affections of all the beholders.

The King having in lesse then 40. dayes, quell'd this dangerous rebellion which like a Hydra consisted of many heads, his thoughts then reflected upon the Ecclesiastic's of *Bearn*, who pretended, and had consequently petition'd often unto him how much they suffer'd by them of the Religion; so he sent the Queen to *Paris*, and he took the road of *Bearn* a frontier place towards Spain, fastning *Navar* to the foot of the *Pyrenean Hills*; He took *Saint John d' Angeli* in his way, where the Town complain'd of a Cittadell which the Duke of *Rohan* would have built to keep them in captivitie; He left a new Governor there behind him, and sent to *Espernon* to have a care of the place; thence he went to *Blay* (the key of *Bordeaux*) where he depos'd the Marquis of *Aubeterre* the Governor, and giving him the Truncheon of Marshall, and 100000. crowns for recompence, he put in his place *Brentes* third brother to *Luynes* after Duke of *Luxenburg*: At *Bordeaux*

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deaux he made an Edict for the reestablishment of the Roman Catholics of *Bearn* in their Primitive possessions, and sending it to *Pau* where the chief Councell of *Bearn* resides to be verified, they refus'd to doe it notwithstanding two jussions of the King to that effect.

Jane d' Albret, Henry the Greats Mother, first planted the Reformed Religion in *Bearn*, taking the revenues of the Roman Clergy to maintain the Ministers, she reign'd divers yeers, and her son Henry the Fourth succeeded, who after he was King of France reestablish'd a few Bishops there, who gave some satisfaction for the time: The present King his son, out of a greater zeale to Rome, would put all things in *statu quo prius*, and would have the Church lands entirely restor'd, and for the maintenance of the Reformed Ministers he was willing to part with eighty thousand Franks yearly out of his own revenue: Yet the Counsell of *Pau* would not ratifie his Edict, which Counsell was divided to three opinions.

1. The first opinion was utterly to reject the Kings Edict, and to detain still the possessions of the Church.

2. Others thought it was fit to give the King some contentment, but in appearance only, and to verifie the *Edict*, assuring themselves that it could never be put in execution, it would meet with so many difficulties.

3. Others thought it best to delay the verification to another time.

The King understanding that they were thus chopping of Logic, and that the *Synod* also which was there then sitting, did mainly resist the verification of his *Edict*; He resolves to go thither himself, though many dissuaded him from the journey by reason of the uncouth wayes, the sory lodgings, the waters in some places poyson'd by *Sorcerers*, and the scarcity of provision, in the *Lands of Bourdeaux*. But none of these reasons could deter the King, therefore he prepares for his voyage, and in the interim he sent a person of quality to the *Rochellers* to acquaint them with the *Elusory* answers which the *Bearnois* made to his commands, and therefore he advts'd and requir'd them to have nothing to do in this busines; They of *Rochell* little regarding what the King said, but undertook the protection of the *Bearnois*.

The King being advanced in his journey neer *Pau*, the Inhabitants sent to know how he would be receiv'd, the King asked if there were ever a Church in the Town, if there were, he would enter as their Soverain, if not, he would receive no honor in a place where God Almighty had no House to be honor'd in, so he entred without any Ceremony; They of the Religion making three parts of the people forbore to send Commodities to *Pau* Market during the Kings sojourn there, to constrain him to go away the sooner; so that his train made hard shift to subsist all the while.

He goes thence to *Navarrenx* seven leagues neerer the hills, a strong tenable place having 45. peeces of Ordnance, and 40. Culverins, the old Governor *Bertrand de Sales* sent the keys of the Town to the King, where he peaceably entred contrary to all expectation; he put in a

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new Garrison of French there, and plac'd another Governor, giving for recompence to the old 60000. Franks: He also caus'd *Masse* to be sung there which had not bin done fifty yeers before; so having settled all things at *Navarrenx* he return'd to *Pau*, where the great Church which they of the Religion had turn'd to a Temple was restor'd to the Priests, and two thousand crowns given for satisfaction; In fine having cast the Church into its old mould, and the Military with the Civill Government into a new, and leaving a competent strength with *La Force* to preserve both, he took post, and came safely and triumphantly to *Paris* in a few dayes.

The *Bearnois* made their addressees to the French Churches, and exhibited their complaints unto them, and for their justification they alledg'd two reasons. One was a possession of fifty yeers continued without interruption of those revenues the King had ravish'd them of. The second was, an Ordinance of the States Generall of *Bearn* confirm'd by a Declaration of *Henry* the Great to that effect.

The Roman Catholiks answer'd, That for the possession they speak of, it was violent, and accompagnied with rebellion and felony; Touching the Assembly of the *States Generall* which they urg'd, it was altogether illegal, because the first and most noble part which was the Clergy was excluded by a cruel persecution, and for *Henry* the Great, he was then himself a persecutor of the Catholiks.

The French Reformed Churches which are neer upon eight hundred, did much resent the usage of the *Bearnois*, thereupon there was a great Assembly held at *Loudun* without the Kings permission, wherein they resolv'd to assist their brethren of *Bearn*.

They drew up *Cayers* or papers to present unto the King containing sundry demands. 1. The first, that his Majesty would please to revoke his arrest given in favor of the Ecclesiastiks of *Bearn*. 2. A continuation of their Cautionary Towns foure yeers longer, the time being now expir'd. 3. They demanded leave to change two Governors which were turn'd Catholiks.

When these Papers were presented to the King, he sent their Deputies word by *Condé* and *Luyne*s that his will was, *that first of all they should separat the Assembly, and six moneths after their separation they should be favourably answer'd.* They prai'd this promise might be digested in writing to an Act; they were answer'd, *That it was an indecent and derogatory thing for a Monark to treat in that manner with his subjects, as if his word were not sufficient:* The Deputies receiv'd little satisfaction in this; so they return'd to *Loudun* wher the Assembly continued still notwithstanding two Declarations publish'd by the King, wherein they were commanded to separat upon pain of being proclaim'd Traytors.

They little valu'd the Kings Declarations, but dissolving their Assembly at *Loudun*, they sent summons up and down to meet at *Rochell*, where in a greater eagernes, and zeal to the Cause then before, they solemnly conven'd, notwithstanding another new Prohibition of the Kings verifi'd by the Court of Parliament in *Paris*; Hereupon the

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business was put into deep deliberation at the Counsell of State, whether the King should declare war against the whole body of the Religion, or particularly against those that had met at *Rochell*: and the latter opinion took place, for these reasons.

1. First, it could not stand with justice to force consciences to quit that beleef which had bin so long tolerated.

2. Secondly, that declaring a war against the whole body of them of the Religion might bring in *forren* ayd.

3. Thirdly, that if a war were pronounc'd in generall, many of the Kings best servants would be involv'd therein, and provok'd, as the Dukes of *Trimoville*, *Bovillon*, *Lefdigueres*, *Suilly*, *Chastillon*, *Brassai*, *Montgomery*, *Blamville*, with divers other of his best sort of subjects.

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The King in regard his Treasury was much drain'd was loth to plunge himself in a serious war again the *Rochelers*, therefore to comply with them, he accorded a continuation of their cautionary Towns for five years longer, notwithstanding that they demanded but foure. He also gave them leave to change the Governor of *Lectour* Castle, and to choose a new Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, two things they insisted much upon, but they prevail'd little with them unless the late Edict of *Bearn* were revok'd: Hereupon the Gran Assembly at *Rochell* reinforced it self, and went on more roundly then ever, there were also up and down the Countrey divers other meetings, as Synods, Colloquies, Circles, and demy-circles which conven'd, and consulted.

They of *Rochell* went higher and higher, they had a new public scale made, they establish'd a new Court of Admiralty, and stamp'd new Coines: They made 47. Ordinances, which were printed, and commanded to be strictly observed through all the Reformed Churches: They nominated Governors of Provinces, and impos'd taxes at pleasure.

The King was much incens'd at these traverses, yet nothing could move him to declare war against the whole body of them, notwithstanding that he was offer'd six hundred thousand crowns yearly by the Ecclesiasticks, viz. two hundred thousand by the Pope, two hundred thousand by the Colledge of Cardinalls, and two hundred thousand by the French Clergy.

La Force whom the King had left Governor of *Bearn*, did not put the Kings commands in execution as he expected, therefore the Duke of *Espenon* was sent thither with an Army, and settled all things according to the Kings pleasure, and made *La Force* quit the Countrey, who was proclaym'd Traytor, and the Marshall of *Themines* put in his place, though afterwards *La Force* recovered his repute with the King, and receiv'd the Truncheon to be Marshall of France, and grew to be a great Confident.

The King having now taken a resolution of war against the *Rochelers*, intended to make a Lord High Constable of France, thereupon it was offer'd the old Duke *Lefdigueres* provided he would go to *Masse*, which he waving, *Luyues* undertook it; which drew much more envy upon him then formerly.

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The King put out a Declaration that it was not against *Religion*, but against *Rebellion* that he proceeded, therefore he offer'd to take into his protection all those Reformed Churches that would contain themselves within the bounds of their obedience to him, and not adhere to the Assembly at *Rochell*; which Declaration was verified in Parliament with much solemnity: so he march'd towards the *Loire*, and being neer *Saumur* a Town of the greatest consequence that the Reformed Churches had, he sent to *Monsieur du Plessis Mornay* that he desired to lodge in the Castle that night with his Queen; The old Governor being above eighty years of age was so surpriz'd with this Message that it put him to his wits end, for he made full account the King would have lodg'd in the Town, as other Kings had; and as he was consulting what to do with much perplexity, the Guard of *Swisses* were at the Castle gate; so he peaceably let them in, the King followed presently after, who charming the old man with complement, made him discharge his Garrison; so the Castle and City was secur'd for the King. Yet the Governor which he left in the Castle was a *Reformist*, who was the Count of *Sault*, Monsieur *Creguy's* son.

The reduction and assurance of *Saumur* was a mighty advantage to the King for the advance of his present dessein, in regard that *Saumur* for her situation was one of the importantst Towns that they of the Reformed Religion had, in regard it tied *Normandy*, *Britany*, *Angjou*, and *Mayn*, with *Poitou*, *Tourain* and other Countreys circumjacent, where they were strongest, besides it lay upon the *Loire*, and it was the probablest place to stop the Kings passage, which they endeavor'd to doe afterwards at *Saint John d'Angely*.

From *Saumur* the King marched to *Touars* a Town of the Duke of *Trimouvillies* where he was receiv'd with all honor and obedience by the Duchesse in the Dukes absence; from thence he pass'd through divers Towns of the Reformed Religion, where in some places he chang'd the Governors, so he came to *Moart* where *Paraberre* the old Governor afterward turning *Roman*, entertaind him with all kind of compliance.

So he found little or no opposition at all till he came to *Saint John d'Angely* where *Soubize* had cast himself in with 1500. men; a small siege was planted before the Towne. The King had 15000. foot, and 2000. horse, the flower of the Cavalry of France, and *Espernon* came with 4000. foot more of *Gascons* and *Bearnois*; A Herald of Arms was sent to summon *Soubize*, who being let a little in at one of the gates in his rich coat he pronounced aloud these words: *To thee Benjamin of Rohan, Lord of Soubize, I come and command thee in the Kings name my Soverain Lord and thine, to open unto him the gates of this Town, to deliver it unto him as his own, and to go out presently with all those that assist thee, otherwise I declare thee a Rebell and a Traytor against Divine and Humane Majesty in the highest degree, thy Houses and Castles to be raz'd, thy goods confiscated to the King, and I declare thee and all thy posterity Yeomen.*

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Soubize answer'd, That he was a most humble servant and subject of the Kings, but being there in quality of a Soldier, the execution of the Kings commandment depended on the Assembly of *Rochel*, who had committed unto him the Government of the place; this he spake with his hat on, thereupon the Herald replied, Know that neither as Captain, or Soldier, thou oughtst to answer me with thy head cover'd, when I speak to thee in the name of the King thy Sovereign Lord and mine. Then *Haute Fontaine* took the word, saying, That the Lord *Soubize* having never seen such summons, was excusable. This Answer and carriage of *Soubize* that he should prefer an Ordinance of the Assembly, before his royal Declaration, nettled the King extremley, so the siege was pourfued very eagerly, a mine or two sprung, and a generall Storm appointed, but in the interim there were Deputies sent to Constable *Luynes* to Treat, he sent them back with this Answer, that the King did not use to Treat with his Subjects: Hereupon they return'd with Commission to implore grace, so the King publish'd a short Proclamation to this effect. That his Majesty being contented to admit of a Treaty, at the most humble supplication many times reiterated by them which are in the Town of *S. John d'Angely* (or *Angerry*) he was pleas'd to vouchsafe a generall pardon to all, provided they ask it, and swear, never to bear arms again against his service, &c. So they came out and *Soubize* kneel'd unto the King and promis'd to observe the conditions his Majesty requir'd.

Thus *Saint John d'Angely* was yeilded upon *Saint John Baptists* day the Patron of the place after fortie daies siege, which was furious and very hot for the time, divers Lords and Gentlemen of quality lost their lives there, the Prince of *Fenivill* was hurt, so was the Duke of *Elbeuf*, the Marquis de *la Valette*, de *Saint Claumont*, *Creyuy*, with divers others; The Cardinal of *Guyse* fell down at the puffe of a Canon bullet which put him in such a burning feavor that he died before the Town, as also the Marshall of *Brissac*: The King commanded a Convent of *Capuchins* to be built forthwith, the wals to be raz'd, and commanded it should be call'd no more a town, but a village; and to be nam'd *Lewis-Bourg*.

The rendition of this town, was seconded with good news from the Prince of *Condé* and the Count of *Saint Paul* who had taken *Gergerau*, and *Sancerre*, which with *Saumur*, were all they had upon the *Loire*.

While the King was before *Saint John d'Angely*, a remarkable passage happen'd twixt Sir *Edward Herbert* now Baron of *Cherberry* (then Ambassador for his Majesty of great Britain in France) and the great Favorit and Constable *Luynes*: which was thus. Sir *Edward Herbert* had receiv'd privat instructions from England to mediat a Peace for them of the Religion, and in case of refusall to use certain menaces; hereupon he coming to the Army, and finding the approaches to the said Town were almost finish'd, he hastned his addresses to the King for an audience: The King referring him to *Luynes*, and desiring that what he had to say might be first imparted unto him, he

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went accordingly to *Luynes* lodgings, and deliver'd his Message so, that he reserv'd still the latter part, which was menace, untill he heard how the busines was relish'd; *Luynes* had hid behind the hangings a Gentleman of the *Religion*, who was upon point of turning *Roman*, that being an earwitness of what had pass'd between the English Ambassador and *Luynes*, he might relate unto them of the *Religion* what little hopes they were to expect from the intercession of the King of England: The Ambassador and *Luynes* having mingled some Speeches, the language of *Luynes* was very haughty, saying, *What hath your Master to do with our Actions? Why doth he meddle with our affairs?* Sir Edward Herbert replied. *It is not to you to whom the King my Master owes an account of his Actions, and for Me it is enough to obey Him. In the mean time, I must maintain that the King my Master hath more reason to do what he pleaseth to do, then you have to ask why he doth it; Nevertheless, if you desire me in a gentle fashion, I shall acquaint you further.* Whereupon *Luynes* bowing a little said, *very well;* The Ambassador answer'd. *That it was not on this occasion only, that the King of Great Britain had desir'd the Peace and prosperity of France, but upon all other occasions whensoever any troubles were rais'd, in that Countrey. And this he said was his first Reason. The second was, That when a Peace was settled there, His Majesty of France might be better dispos'd to assist the Palatin in the affairs of Germany.* *Luynes* said, *We will none of your advices.* The Ambassador replied, *That he took that for an Answer, and was sorry only, that the affection and good will of the King his Master was not sufficiently understood, and that since 'twas rejected in that maner, he could do no lesse then say, that the King his Master knew well enough what he had to do.* *Luynes* said, *We are not afraid of you;* The Ambassador (smiling a little) replied, *If you had said you had not lov'd Us, I should have beleev'd you, and made you another Answer; In the mean while, all I will tell you more is, That We know very well what we have to do.* *Luynes* hereupon rising a little from his chaire with a fashion and a countenance much discompos'd, said, *By God if you were not Monsieur l' Ambassadeur, I know very well how I would use you;* The Ambassador herewithall rising also from his chaire said, *That as he was his Majesties of Great Britains Ambassador, so he was also a Gentleman, and that his sword, whereon he laid his hand, should do him reason if he took any offence:* After which *Luynes* replying nothing, the Ambassador went on his way towards the doore, to which when *Luynes* seem'd to accompanny him, the Ambassador told him, *that after such language, there was no occasion to use ceremony, and so departed, expecting to hear further from him.* But no message being brought him from *Luynes*, he did in poursuance of his instructions demand audience of the King at *Cognac*, *St. Jean d' Angely* being now rendred, who granting it, where he did in the same termes, and upon the same motives Mediat a Peace for them of the *Religion*, and receiv'd a far more gentle Answer from the King. The Marshall *de Saint Geran* coming to Sir Edward Herbert told him in a friendly maner, *you have offended the Constable, and you are not in a place of surety here, where-*
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unto he answer'd, *That he held himself to be in a place of surety, where-so-ever he had his sword by him.*

Luynes little resenting the affront he receiv'd from *Sir Ed. Herbert*, got *Cadenet* his brother Duke of *Chaune* with a ruffling train of Cavaliers, neer upon a hundred, (whereof *there was not one*, as *Cadenet* told King *James*, but had kild his man in duel) Ambassadour extraordinary to England a little after, who misreporting the clash 'twixt *Sir Ed. Herbert* and *Luynes*, prevaild so far, that *Sir Ed. Herbert* was presently revok'd, to answer the charge that should be laid against him. In the meantime the Earl of *Carlile* that dexterous Courtier was employ'd extraordinary Ambassador to France for accomodating *le mal entendu* which might arise 'twixt the two Crowns: *Carlile* was commanded to inform himself of the truth of the businesse afore mention'd; and he could meet with no relation but what *Luynes* had made himself: wherein more affronting and haughty expressions were laid to *Sir Ed. Herberts* charge then had truly pass'd, for though the first provocation came from *Luynes*, yet the Ambassadour kept himself within the bounds both of his instructions and honor; but as my Lord of *Carlile* was ready to send this mis-information to England, the Gentleman formerly spoken of who stood behind the hangings, came to the Earl of *Carlile* and said, that he ow'd so much unto truth and honor that he could doe no lesse then vindicat Cavalier *Herbert* from all indiscretion and unworthines, and thereupon related the true circumstances of the businesse. The Earl of *Carlile* being thus rectified in the knowledge of the truth, gave account to King *James* accordingly, who cleer'd *Sir Ed. Herbert*, and resolv'd to renvoy him Ambassador to France, whereof he having notice, kneel'd to the King before the Duke of *Buckingham*, and humbly desired that since the busines was public in both Kingdoms he might in a public way demand reparation of M. *Luynes*: for which purpose he beseech'd his Majesty that a Trumpeter if not a Herald might be sent on his part to M. de *Luynes* to tell him *That he had made a false relation of the passages before mentioned; and that Sir Ed. Herbert would demand reasons of him with sword in hand on that point*; the King answering that he would take it into consideration. *Luynes* a little after died, and *Sir Edward* was again sent Ambassador to France.

But to return to our former road, besides those places formerly mentioned, the Towns *Sully*, *Merac* and *Caumont* were also taken for the King, but the latter two by the Duke of *Mayn* Governor of *Guyen*: All *Poitou* being reduc'd to Royall obedience, and settled, the King resolv'd to go for *Guyen* to suppress the Duke of *Rohan* and *la Force* who were in arms, and had a considerable Army: He left behind the Duke of *Espernon* with 4000. foot, and 600. horse to beleager *Rochell*, and stop the advenues in the interim. So he advances to *Guyen*, and divers places in the way open'd their gates unto him, till he came to *Clairac*, where he found a tough resistance; He lost before the Town the great Lord of *Thermes*, and sundry persons of quality besides; in

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so much that he would give no generall pardon but reserv'd five for death, and there were most pittifully drown'd and kill'd in the Town above 800. whereof there were above 200. Gentlemen.

The King having reduc'd *Clayrac*, though it cost him dear, his thoughts then reflected upon *Montauban* which after *Rochell* was the prime propugnacle, and principallest Town of security They of the Religion had in the whole Kingdom. There was a Royall summons sent before, and it was accompanied with a large persuasive Letter from the Duke of *Suilly* (who was one of the chiefeft Grandes they had of the Reformed Religion) to induce them to conformitie and obedience; some interpreted the Letter to a good sense, but the populace, by the instigation of the Ministers, would not hearken to it; This was that Duke of *Suilly* that had bin a Favorit to *Henry* the Fourth, whom he had reduc'd from a *Roman* to be a *Reformist* when he was King of *Navar* onely, and perswading him to become *Roman* again, the Duke bluntly answer'd, Sir, *You have given me one turn already, you have good luck if you give me any more*: Thereupon the siege began, and the great Duke of *Mayn* who had newly come with additionall forces to the King began the first battery and spent 500. Cannon bullets upon them, a breach was made, but with losse of divers men of note amongst the Royallists; the Marquis of *Themines* breath'd there his last: And not long after the brave Duke of *Mayn* himself peeping out of a gabion within his trenches, was shot by a common soldier from the Town; The *Parisians* were much incens'd for the losse of the Duke of *Mayn*, therefore as some of the reformed Religion were coming from *Charenton-Sermon* they assaulted them in the way, hurt divers, kil'd some, and going onto *Charenton*, they burnt the Temple there; but a few nights after two great bridges ore the *Seinn* were burnt quite down to the water in the City of *Paris*, and a great store of wealth consum'd, and it was interpreted to be a just judgement from Heaven for burning of *Charenton* Temple.

The Duke of *Angoulesm* was sent to counter-car the forces of the Duke of *Rohan* who was then in motion in *Guyen*, and *Angoulesm* was so succesfull that he gave him a considerable defeat, by taking the strong Fort of *Fauch*, in defence whereof 400. of the Reformists were slain.

The contagion rag'd furiously in the Kings Army before *Montauban*, and divers persons of quality died of it, amongst others the Archbishop of *Sens* brother to Cardinall *Perron*, and the Bishops of *Valentia*, *Carcaçona*, and *Marscillis*, and *Pierre Matthieu* the Historiographer added to the number of the dead. This, with the approach of Winter caus'd the King to raise his siege from before the Town, having lost above five hundred Noblemen and Gentlemen of quality, besides thousands of common souldiers.

During this pertinacious siege before *Montauban* there was a remarkable thing pass'd, which was this. There was a cunning report rais'd in the Kings Army that *Rochell*, which was then also beleaguer'd

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by the Count of *Soissons*, and the Duke of *Guise*, the first by Land, the other by Sea, was rendred upon composition; this report was made to fly into *Montauban*, which must needs strike a shrewd apprehension of fear into her; they of *Rochell* hearing of it, articulated with Master *Hicks* an English Gentleman (now Sir *Ellis Hicks*) who spake the Language perfectly well, that if he would undertake to carry a Letter into *Montauban*, he should receive a noble reward; Master *Hicks* undertook it, and passing through the Army that was before *Rochell* came to *Tholouse*, where my Lord of *Carlile* was then Ambassador extraordinary, Master *Hicks* meeting with Master *Fairfax* a young Gentleman (brother to the now Lord *Fairfax*) he did associat much with him; They both went to see the siege before *Montauban*, and being Gentlemen and thought to be of the English *Ambassadors* train, there was little heed taken of them; They got one day between the Kings Trenches and the Town, and *Hicks* being very well mounted told *Fairfax*, If you love your life follow me, so he put spurs to his horse & having showers of shots powr'd after him he came safe to the gates of *Montauban*, and so he deliver'd the intrusted Letter, which brought news in what a good posture *Rochell* was; this so animated the besieged, that the next day they made a sally upon the Kings Forces; and did a notable execution upon them, and a little after the Siege was rais'd; so Master *Hicks* besides the honor of the act had a guerdon equall to the importance of the service, and danger of the attempt; but Master *Fairfax* (who was inscious of the dessein) staying behind and being apprehended, was put to the torture, and a Diaper napkin dipt in boyling water was squeaz'd down his throat, whereof he died: a hard destiny of a most hopefull young Gentleman.

Within the compasse of this year there died *Paul* the Fifth, *Philip* the Third of Spain, the Arch-Duke *Albertus* in Flanders, *Cosmo de Medicis* Gran Duke of Tuscany, and Cardinall *Bellarmin*: To whom may be added also the Duke of *Luyne* Lord high Constable of France, who died in *Longueville*, a small Town in *Languedoc*, of the purple feavor; He was one of the greatest Favourits, for so short a time, that ever were in France, since the *Maires* of the Palace from whom Emperours afterwards issued; His Countrey was *Provence*, and he was a Gentleman by descent though of a petty extraction; In the last Kings time he was preferd to be one of his Pages, who finding him a good waytor, allowed him three hundred crowns *per an.* which he husbanded so frugally, that he maintain'd himself and his two brothers in passable good fashion. The King observing that, doubled his pension, and taking notice that he was a serviceable instrument, and apt to please, he thought him fit to be about his son (the *Dauphin*) in whose service he had continued above 15. years, & by a singular dexterity he had in *Faulconry* he gain'd so far upon the young Kings affection, that he sward to that high pitch of Honor. He was a man of a passable understanding; of a mild comportment, humble and debonnaire to all suiters, but he was too open in his counsels and desseins; he had about

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about him good solid heads who prescrib'd unto him rules of policy, by whose compasse he steer'd his cours; He came at last to that transcendent altitude, that he seem'd to have surmounted all reaches of envie, and made all hopes of supplanting him frustrat, both by the constant strength of the Kings favor, and the powerfull alliances he had got for himself, and his two brothers: He married the Duke of *Montbazon's* daughter; his second brother *Cadenet* the Heireffe of *Pequigny* with whom he had 9000. pound lands a yeer: His third brother married the Heireffe of *Luxemburg*, of which House there have bin five Emperors; so that the three Brothers with their alliances were able to counterbalance any one Faction in France: He left two living Monuments of his greatnes behind him, which were his two brothers, one whereof was *Marshall*, but both of them Dukes and Peers of France.

The repulse before *Montauban*, and the death of *Luynes* gave some matter of resentment to the King for the present, but he quickly pass'd it over: And having settled matters to his best advantage in *Guyen*, he return'd to *Bourdeaux*, and so came to keep his Christmas at *Paris*.

The Spring following he gets a horseback again, and it was high time for him, in regard there was a generall insurrection of them of the Religion both in *Dauphiné*, *Languedoc*, *Guyen* and *Poitou*. In the last *Soubize* had got a considerable army of 7000. foot, and 600. horse, and 9. Pieces of Ordnance.

The King parts from *Paris* upon *Palm-Sunday* which was cryed up to be a good augury that he would return with the *Palm* the Emblem of victory; so marching to *Poitou*, he found out *Soubize* entrench'd in certain little Islands call'd *Rie & Perier*: upon the Kings approach *Soubize* abandons the place, and with a few Horse got along the sands to *Rochell*; the whole Army being thus left headlesse, in a fearfull consternation all began to flie, and some thought to save themselves through the *Marasse*, where many hundreds miserably perished, those that stayed behind the King were pardon'd, only 13. were hang'd for example, and they were some of those that had taken an oath at *Saint John d'Angely* never to bear arms against the King; there were kill'd and drown'd in all above two thousand Reformists in this encounter.

After this *Royan* was rendred after a pertinacious siege; and a great slaughter on both sides; The King thence marcheth to *Guyen*, where the Duke of *Elbauf* had done divers exploits; Insomuch that in a short time all the towns of *Guyen* were reduc'd to the King except *Montauban*; amongst others there were three towns call'd *Tonnenx* knotted one in another, which were utterly extinguish'd, with prohibition for any ever to build there again. Being in *Carcassona* upon his March to *Montpellier*, there were two signall things done, *Soubize* was proclaim'd Traitor for flying to England to sollicite for forrein ayd; And old *Lefdeguiers*, was made Constable of France; *Chastillon* also a little after came to be Marshall for giving up *Aiguemortes*; the first

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had that high Office, provided he would go to *Masse*, which he did, but the last persisted still in his Religion.

The King appear'd now in Person before *Montpellier*; and a great deal of earth was thrown up by his Pioners before he came, the trenches being almost finish'd, there were divers furious Sallies from within, and Assaults from without happen'd in this Siege, and many gallant Gentlemen lost, amongst others the young Duke of *Fronsack* unnic son to the Count of *Saint Paul*, was condol'd with much regret. And the King was like to have had the same fortune there, which he had before *Montauban*, had not the Duke of *Vendosme* come with a timely supply of five thousand fresh combatants.

The Duke of *Rohan*, and Constable *Lesdiguières*, old in yeers and new in Office, had privat meetings; the former going into the Town, carried the busines with that power, and wrought so far upon the affections of the Inhabitants of *Montpellier*, that he made them inclinable to let in the King, provided that their fortifications might continue entire, and that they might be exempt from *Cittadel*, Governor or Garrison, upon such termes, they with the whole body of the Religion would conform themselves to a generall Peace, which was a little after proclaim'd before *Montpellier* in form of an *Edict*, to this effect.

That the Edict of Nants, with the secret Articles thereunto annexed should be inviolably kept, as under the reign of Henry the Great, That the exercise of the Catholic Roman Religion should be reestablish'd where it hath bin interrupted, and the Ecclesiasticks restor'd to all their goods; That likewise they of the Reformed Religion should exercise it freely in all those places, where it was practis'd before these commotions; That all new fortifications should be demolish'd, specially in the Islands of Re & Oleron, and the old walls only stand; That all Assemblies particular and generall be prohibited to them of the p: Reformed Religion for the futur, unlesse it be upon affairs purely Ecclesiastic, under pain of the crime of Treason; That an abolition be granted of every thing pass'd except of those execrable cases reserv'd by the Article 86. of the Edict of Nants; That Catholics as well as Reformists be chosen promiscuously in civill Offices, &c.

This being done, the Deputies of the Reformed Churches coming to attend the King, they were made to stoop at the entrance of the Kings lodging, and afterward having first desir'd pardon, they presented the Keys of the Town unto him; So the next day he entred the Town, and having settled all things thereabouts, the King went to *Provence*, and so to *Avignon* the Popes Town, where the old Duke of *Savoy* came to visit him; Thence he returns to *Lyon*, where he found the two Queens; The Prince and Princeesse of *Savoy* came also thither to attend him. *Geneva* likewise sent thither her Deputies, who made an Oration to the King upon their knees all the while. From *Lyon* He came triumphantly to *Paris* to begin the new year, 1623. in Peace, after such a long Martial progres.

While the King was himself in person up and down *Poitou* and

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Guyen to repress them of the *Religion*; the Duke of *Guyse* by Sea, (who had an Auxiliary Fleet of eight of the King of *Englands* Ships joyn'd with him for which the Duke of *Buckingham* was afterwards questioned in Parliament) and the Count of *Soissons* by Land did pinch the *Rochellers*; *Soissons* rais'd up a strong tenable bulwark, which he call'd *Lewis-fort*, that commanded the Chanell Sea-ward, and gave the law by Land.

The generall Pacification published at *Montpellier* was but a peece slightly plaister'd over, it was far from searching the bottom, from cleansing and curing the wound, for many discontents raig'n'd still amongst them of the *Religion*, they complain'd that *Lewis-fort* before *Rochell* was not demolish'd being a new fortification, and they spoak of other grievances; the King on the other side complain'd, they had not reestablish'd the Ecclesiasticks in their Primitive possessions, nor chosen Catholicks in Civill Offices.

This being profoundly debated in the Counsell of State, some, as the Church-men, and Nobles, gave their opinion, that, rather then to be in such continuall trances and alarms, his Majesty should with his main entire strength apply himself to extinguish both the *Rebellion* and the *Herese* (as they term'd it) totally together, as the effect with the cause; because his Majesty was not in case to do any thing abroad, while they were left so strong at home, for as one of the Counsellors said, *He that hath theeves to his neighbours dares not goe far from home.*

Others were of a contrary opinion, that it was very requisite there should be a generall peace now 'twixt the French people, because of the businesse of the *Valtolin*, where the Spaniard had a purpose to block out France in all places towards Italy, which was very necessary to be prevented, so that it was not fit to enfeeble France at this time by attempting to extinguish them of the *Religion*, and to plunge the whole Countrey in an intestine war, for it was as if one would cut off his left hand with the right. This last counsell took more with the King, and so he left no way unessay'd to reunite all his subjects: Hereupon to content the *Reformists*, he caus'd their *Temples* to be reedified, he appointed 60000. *Franks* for the payment of their *Ministers*, and permitted them to call a *Synod* at *Charenton*, with divers other acts of compliance; provided, that on their part they should entertain no strangers for preachers, nor admit *Ministers* into politic Assemblies.

In these difficulties and anxious traverses of things, the King made the Cardinal of *Richelieu* his principall Minister of State, chiefe of his Counsell, and Director generall under his authority in the government of the State. He made this election by the advice of the Queen Mother principally, nor was it an improper choice, for the party had a concurrence of high abilities in him, answerable to that transcendent trust: and he prov'd, as will appear by the sequele of things, a successfull Instrument; though many doubt whether his Counsel was as successfull to France, as it was small to the rest of *Christendom*, which he hath plung'd

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plung'd in an eternall war: touching this we leave the Ingenious Reader a freedom of censure, according as his judgement shall be guided by an unpartiall, and unbiass'd relation of matters, as they ly connected in the ensuing part of this story.

Thus our third Lustre concludes, with the commencement of Richelieus greatnes.

The fourth Lustre of the Life of Lewis the thirteenth.

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VVE began the last lustre with the espousals of the Lady *Christina*, second daughter of *France*, with the Prince of *Piemont*, this begins with the mariage of the Lady *Henriette Marie de Bourbon*, the yongest Royall branch of *Henry the Great*; and this was the first great act that the Cardinal of *Richelieu* performed, after he was come to the superintendency of affairs of State.

France had two causes of perpetuall apprehensions of fear, one external, th'other internal; The still growing *greatnesse* of *Spain* without, and They of the *Religion* within doors, which were made frequent use of by any discontented Princes upon all occasions; and were cryed up by the *Jesuits* to be as Matches to set *France* on fire at any time; Therefore the first gran dessein that he projected with himself was to clip their wings, and diminish their strength, by dismantling their Cautionary Towns, and making them dismisse their Garrisons: The Cardinal knew the King his Master did not affect them since the Treaty at *Lodun*, wherein they forc'd him to put another interpretation upon his Coronation Oth, then his conscience did dictat unto him, or the Prelat, who administred it unto him, meant; which appear'd in a churlish answer that he gave them not long after when he was solicited to prolong the terme of holding their Cautionary Towns as *Henry the Third*, and *Henry the Great* his father had done. Which answer was, *That what grace the first did shew you, was out of fear, what my father did, was out of love; but I would have you know, that I neither fear you nor love you.*

To compasse that great work of taking from them their Garrison Towns, it was thought very expedient to secure forren Princes from assisting them, specially *England*, and the united *Provinces*; Touching the latter, they were charm'd with money; for in a fresh Treaty, the King accorded them a million of Franks, and six hundred thousand Franks every one of the two yeers next ensuing; which they were to re-inburse the next two yeers that they should conclude a peace or truce with *Spain*. The *Holland-Ambassadors* who were employed in this Treatie did promise the King that there should be liber-

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tie of conscience given the Catholiks at his Majesties request ; That the States should associat the French with them in the commerce of the *Indies*, give them some choice ports for traffic, and repaire some deprædations they had made by sea ; but the money being once got, there was little care taken to perform these promises ; which were no more then parol engagements or rather complements, whereupon an Ambassador was expressly sent to complain hereof, but he effected little.

To secure *England* from succouring Them of the *Religion*, the first overture that the Erl of *Holland* made for an alliance was yeilded unto ; to whom the Erl of *Carlile* was sent in joynt commission to conclude it ; *The King* told them, that he took it for an honour, that they sought his sister for the sole sonne of so illustrious a King his neighbour and Allie ; onely he desir'd that he might send to *Rome* to have the Popes consent for better satisfaction of his conscience, and in the mean time the English Ambassadors might send for a more plenary power to *England* ; so in lesse then the revolution of *nine moons* this great business was propos'd, poursu'd and perfected, whereas the *Sun* ran his carreer through the *Zodiac* ten times before that *Spain* could come to any point of perfection ; This may serve to shew the difference twixt the two Nations, the leaden heel'd pace of the one, and the quicksilver'd motions of the other ; it shewes also how the French is more round and frank in his proceedings, not so full of scruples, reservations and jealousies as the Spaniard : And one reason that the Statists of the time alledg'd why *Spain* amus'd the English, and protracted the Treaty of the Match so long, was, that all the daughters of France might be first married to prevent an alliance twixt *England* and her.

There was a concurrence of many things that favor'd the effecting and expediting of this alliance : some previous Offices and Letters of invitation from France, wherein there were strains of extraordinary endearments, wherewith the King of Great Britain corresponded also in an unusuall stile, as appears by this Letter following.

Most high, most excellent, and most puissant Prince, Our most deer, and most beloved good Brother, Cousen and ancient Ally : Although the deceased King of happy memory was justly call'd Henry the Great, for having re-conquer'd by arms his Kingdom of France, though it appertain'd unto him as his proper inheritance ; Yet you have made now a greater conquest ; for the Kingdom of France though it was regain'd by the victorious arms of your dead father, it was his de jure, and so he got but his own : But you have lately carried away a greater victory, having by your two last Letters so full of cordiall courtesies, overcome your good Brother, and ancient Ally, and all the Kingdoms appertaining unto him ; for We acknowledge Our self so conquer'd by your more then brotherly affection, that We cannot return you the like : onely we can promise and assure you upon the faith of an honest man, that you shall have alwayes power not onely to dispose of Our forces and kingdoms, but of Our heart and person, and also of the person of Our son if you have need, which God prevent : praying you to rest assured that We shall

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not onely be far from cherishing, or giving the least countenance to any of your subjects, of what profession soever of Religion, who shall forget their naturall allegiance unto you, but if We have the least inkling thereof, We shall send you very faithfull advertisement: And you may promise your self that upon such occasion, or upon any other which may tend to the honor of your Crown, you shall alwayes have power to dispose freely of Our assistance, as if the cause were Our own; so upon assurance that Our interests shall be alwayes common, We pray God, most high, most excellent and most puissant Prince, Our most deer, and most beloved Brother, Cousen and Ally, to have you alwayes in his most holy protection. Newmarket 9. of February, 1624.
Your most affectionat Brother, Cousen, and ancient Ally,

James K.

The Critiques of the time did much censure this Letter, in regard King James seems to dis-invest himself utterly of all Title to France thereby, because he confesseth Henry the Fourth to have not onely reconquer'd it, but to have a naturall right unto it in the said Letter.

The former Treaty for the Infanta of Spaine did facilitat also the hastning of this businesse, and made it lesse knotty, in regard that the matrimonial capitulations which in effect were the very same with those of the Infanta's, had bin beaten and moulded a long time before upon the Spanish Anvill, and so made smooth and passable: They were in substance these that follow.

1. That the French King should make it his busines to procure a dispensation from Rome within three moneths.
2. That for the celebration of the act of affiancing, the King of Great Britain should depute whom he pleas'd, and that it be done according to the Roman rites.
3. That the mariage be solemniz'd in the same forme as that of Queen Margaret, and the Duchesse of Bar was.
4. That she be attended to the Sea side upon the charge of France.
5. That the contract of mariage be publicly ratified in England without intervention of any Ecclesiastic ceremony.
6. That free exercise of Religion be granted unto Madam her self and all her train, and to the children that her servants shall have. And to that end they shall have a Chappel in every one of the Kings Royall Houses, or any where els where she shall keep her Court.
7. That preaching, and the administration of the Sacraments of the Masse, with all other Divine Offices be permitted Her, as also the gaining of all Indulgences and Jubilis from Rome; and that a Church-yard be appointed wall'd about to bury Catholiks according to the Rites of the Roman Church, all which shall be done modestly.
8. That she shall have a Bishop for her Almoner who may have power to proceed against any Ecclesiastic under his charge according to the Canonick constitutions: And in case the Secular Court shall seize upon any Churchmen under his jurisdiction, for any crime which

which concern'd not the State, he shall be sent back to the said Bishop, who taking cognisance of the delict, shall degrade him, and so return him to the Secular power; and other faults, all Churchmen under him, shall be sent to him to be proceeded against accordingly, or in his absence to his Vicar generall.

9. She shall have 28. Priests of her House, and if any be a Regular he shall be allow'd to weare his habit.

10. The King of Great Britain and his son shall oblige themselves by Oath not to attempt any thing upon the conscience of Madam to induce her to renounce her Religion.

11. All her domestiques shall be Catholiques and French which she shall bring with her, and in their roomes when they die, she shall be allow'd to choose other French Catholiques but with the consent of the King of Great Britain.

12. Her dowry shall be eight hundred thousand crowns, whereof the one moiety shall be paid the yeeve after Contract, the other a yeeve after, and in case she survive her Husband the said dowry shall be entirely return'd her whether she desire to live in England or France.

13. But if there remain any children of this mariage, then she is to have back but two thirds of the said dowry.

14. And in case Madam die before the Prince without children, the moiety of the said dowry shall be only return'd, and in case she leave children all shall go amongst them.

15. Madam shall be endow'd with a joynture of eighteen thousand pound sterling *per an.* which comes to sixty thousand crowns: and his Majestie of Great Britain shall give her besides the value of fifty thousand crowns in Jewels, whereof she shall have the property, as of those she hath already, and of what shall be given her hereafter: He shall be also oblig'd to maintain her and her House, and in case she come to be a widow, she shall enjoy her dower, and jointure which shall be assign'd her in Lands, Castles and Houses, whereof one shall be furnish'd and fit for habitation, and that the said joynture be pay'd her wheresoever she shall desire to reside: she shall have also the free disposing of the Benefices and Offices belonging to the said Lands, whereof one shall have the title of Duchy or County.

16. That she shall be permitted whether she have children or not, to return to France, and bring with her her movables, rings and jewels, as also her dowry, and the King shall be bound to have her conducted to Calice upon his charge.

17. The contract of the mariage shall be registred in the Court of Parliament of Paris, and ratified in that of England.

18. All her servants shall take this following Oath, *I sweare and promise fidelitie to the most gracious King of Great Britain, to the most gracious Prince Charles, and to Madame Henriette Marie daughter of France, which I shall most faithfully and inviolably keep; And if I know of any attempt against the said King, Prince, and Lady, or their estates, or against the public good of the Kingdoms of the said King, I shall forthwith denounce*

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the same to the said King, Prince, and Lady, or others who shall have it in charge. This was the substance of all the Matrimoniall capitulations which were digested to 28. Articles, with a penalty of four hundred thousand crowns upon either of the two Kings which should infringe any of them. Besides these, there were some privat Articles accorded in favour of the Roman Catholiks in England and Ireland, but far from the latitude of a public Toleration.

Upon the ending of this great Treaty with France *James* the First of England, and Sixth of Scotland ended his life in his Palace at Theobalds; A little before, he brook out into a very passionate Speech to his Lords of the Counsell of the King of France; saying, *My Lords, the King of France hath writ unto me that he is so far my friend, that if ever I have need of him, he will render me Offices in Person whensoever I shall desire him; Truly, he hath gain'd upon me more then any of his Predecessors, and he may beleewe me, that in any thing that shall concern him I will employ not only my peoples lives, but mine own; and whosoever of his subjects shall rise against him either Catholiks or others, shall find me a party for him: 'Tis true, if he be provok'd to infringe his Edicts, I shall impart as much as in me lies, by counsell and advice to prevent the inconveniences.*

Then falling upon the perfections of Madame *Henriette Marie*, he said pleasantly, *When she is come over I will denounce war against her, because she would not read my Letter, nor my sons, as I understand, before she had first receiv'd command from the Queen her Mother; yet I have cause to thank her, because that after she had perus'd them, she put mine in her cushionet, and the other in her bosome, intimating thereby that she would rely upon me (for counsell) and lodg my son in her heart.*

King *James*'s death retarded a while the proceedings of the Match, for things were at a stand till his Exequies were pass'd, which were perform'd with a Magnificence futable to so great a King.

This Ceremony being ended a procuration was sent the Duke of *Cheureuse* from his Majesty of Great Britain to be contracted unto the Lady *Henriette* and then to marry her in his name, which was done with extraordinary celebrity, the one in the *Louvre*, the last in the great Church of *Paris* by the ministry of the Cardinall *Rochefaucand*; a little before there was a clasp twixt him and the Bishop of *Paris*, who urg'd, it was his right to officiat in his own Church, but the Cardinall being a Prince of the Church Universall, being also *gran Almoner* which makes him chief Clark of the Court, and Cardinall *Richelieu*, who had now the greatest stroak in the State, favoring his own habit and the Hat more then the Mitre, the Cardinall carried the day: This solemnity was perform'd to the very height of greatnes and splendor; and such was the bravery of the English Ambassadors the Earls of *Carlisle* and *Holland*, that they seem'd to outshine the French that day in their own Sphere; One half of the dowry had bin delivered before upon the Contra&, which was in all, as was said before, eight hundred thousand crowns, and it was more then the eldest Sister had by

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by two hundred thousand crowns, and double as much as the second had, the one having but six hundred thousand, the other but four hundred thousand crowns to their portions.

The Contract and Mariage being thus finish'd, the Duke of *Buckingham* came a fortnight after with admired gallantry, to demand the Queen of Great Britain for the King his Master, and to attend, and conduct her over to *England*. The Queen Mother accompagnied her as far as *Amiens*, Monsieur her Brother to *Bullen*, whence a Fleet of twenty Galeons Royall transported her to *Dover*.

This was the eighth Nuptiall conjunction of the *Rose* and *Flower-de-luce* that hath happend 'twixt *England* and *France*.

The first was in the year 900. 'twixt *Charles* the First of *France*, and the Lady *Ogine* daughter to *Edward the old* King of *England*, 120. years before the Norman conquest.

The second 'twixt *Henry* the Third of *England*, and *Margaret* daughter to *Lewis* the Seventh of *France*.

The third was between *Edward* the First of *England*, and the Lady *Margaret* daughter to *Philip* the Hardy of *France*.

The fourth 'twixt *Edward* the Second of *England*, and *Isabel* daughter to *Philip* the Faire.

The fifth was 'twixt *Richard* the Second of *England*, and *Elizabeth* daughter to *Charles* the Sixth.

The sixth 'twixt *Henry* the Fifth of *England*, and *Catherin* daughter also to *Charles* the Sixth of *France*.

The seventh was 'twixt *Lewis* the twelfth of *France*, and *Mary* daughter to *Henry* the Seventh of *England*.

The eighth was this 'twixt *Charles Stuard* Prince of *Wales*, and *Henriette Marie* of *Bourbon* youngest daughter to *Henry* the Great: so in these eight Matches *England* hath had six daughters of *France*, and *France* two of *Englands*.

As soon as this great Nuptiall pompe was pass'd, there came tydings that *Soubize* upon a new discontent of them of the Religion, had a great Fleet of ships at Sea, and surpriz'd the Port of *Blauet* in *Britany*, which is a faire and large Haven deposited to the Spaniard in time of the Ligue, and restored to *Henry* the Great at the peace at *Vervins*; *Soubize* enterd the Haven with eleven Sayle of men of War, and took and carried away six great ships whereof some belong'd to the Duke of *Nevers*. This rendred them of the Religion powerfull at Sea, and because their Ships might have choise of harbors, they seiz'd upon the Islands of *Re*, and *Oleron* where they began to fortifie. *Soubize* sayles up the *Garond* towards *Bourdeaux* with a Fleet of seventy sayles of all sort which made him Master of the Sea, and landing a considerable number of land forces at the land of *Medoc*, they of *Bourdeaux* joyning with *Toiras* sent him a shipboard again with losse, and so he return'd to *Rochell*.

A little after he sets out to Sea again, and takes divers prizes, extremely interrupting all traffic on those Coasts; Hereupon the King

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sent to the *Hollander* to hyre twenty Sayle of men of War, according to the late Treaty; which were accordingly sent him under Admirall *Hauthain*; These joyning with another Fleet of the Duke of *Monmorency* made a considerable naval power; *Monmorency* was very eager to set upon *Soubize* and the *Rochell* Fleet, but he found the *Hollanders* backward and cold, being charm'd by Letters and a Remonstrance annexed unto it sent to *Hauthain* by two French Ministers, and two Dutch Merchants from *Rochell*, wherein they made piteous complain that the King had performed little or nothing at all of the Treaty before *Montpellier*, and that the utter ruine of the whole body of the Religion (which was the same with that of *Holland*) was intended, therefore they did efflagitate, and conjure the said Admirall *Hauthain* to lay his hand on his heart and conscience, and not to contribute to so damnable a dessein.

This Remonstrance wrought much upon *Hauthain* and *Dorp* his Vice-Admiral, in so much that he publicly declar'd unto the Duke of *Monmorency* that he had Commission in expresse termes from his Masters the States, to reduce Monsieur *Soubize* to his duty, either by reason or force; that he understood how he was ready to conforme himself to the first, and to that effect he and his Brother the Duke of *Rohan* with other Towns of their party, had Deputies employed to the King to desire Peace which was in a good forwardnes; therefore it was needlesse to force them to their duty, which were willing to do it of their own motion.

So the *Hollanders* refus'd to fight, yet the *Rochell* fleet not fully knowing their intention fell unwares upon them and burnt their Vice-Admiral, but attempting to boord some French, they were repuls'd with the losse of three hundred men, and four Barks full of hurt men: this nettled *Hans*, & afterwards seriously he joyn'd with the French Royall Fleet, which had receiv'd an addition of seven English Ships under the command of Chevalier *de Ris*, and twenty two more under the Marquis of *Royan*; so that the whole number coming to sixty six sayles, they divided themselves to three Squadrons: In the first was *Monmorency* and *Hauthain*; *Dorp* commanded the second, and the third was under Manty *Monmorency's* Vice-Admiral: *Soubize* had got into the Isle of *Ré* where he had intrench'd himself, but a considerable Army of the Kings landing there, there were divers furious and bloody skirmishes, wherein there fell on *Soubizes* side above eight hundred; and so many more drown'd in flight: The Royallists also lost there a great number, but they made themselves Masters of the Island; *Soubize* got away in a Shallop, and (as the enemy gave out) left his hat and sword behind him, so he went to England.

There was also a great Sea fight neer *la fosse de loy'e* where the Royallists took nine ships, burnt one, and attempting to boord their Admiral, call'd the *Virgin*, and being grappled with her, all that were upon the upper deck being kill'd, they who had got under hatches desperately put fire in the Gunpowder, and blew her up with three hundred

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hundred soules in her, whose members floated afterwards up and down the waves, a piteous and horrid spectacle to see: three of the Kings ships being grappled with her were also burnt. The Duke of Monmorency, the Isle of Ré being already reduc'd, went then to Oleron which he took and secur'd for the King.

While these fearfull traverses of war happen'd before *Rochell*, the Duke of Rohan was very buſſe in *Languedoc*; and entertain'd a Treaty with the Spaniard, but *Camrillon* his Agent was surpriz'd, and had his head chopt off at *Tholous*. Constable *Lesdiguieres* was upon point of passing the *Alps* with an Army at this time to *Italy*; but the commotions of *Languedoc* were such that he was diverted, and commanded to march thither against the Duke of Rohan; The King endeavouring to win Rohan by acts of grace offer'd him a prime command in the Army that was to go for *Italy* against the Spaniard, and his brother *Soubiſe* the command of ten Galeons, but the motion was not hearken'd unto. *Espernon* and *Themines* did divers exploits up and down *Languedoc* this year, specially before *Montauban*, where they of the Town lost eight hundred men in two sallies they had made.

They of the Religion being now much quail'd by divers ill successes they had receiv'd by Sea and Land, had recourse to the King with a submissive querulous Remonstrance of their miseries. He that brought it seem'd to reproach the Rebellion in general, but he excus'd the *Rochellers*, declaring *ore tenus* to the King, *How they were bereft of their Priviledges, how their Walls were batter'd, their Vines pluck'd up, how their Tillage ceas'd, and their Traffic was ruin'd; And while others of his Majesties subjects have slept in their beds under the public faith of peace, they have watch'd upon his walls to repell the injuries of a particular war; In fine this usage being capable to make wild the gentleſt spirits hath made them apprehend the blow of their utter ruine. It is true, that they had bin forc'd to put the law of neceſſitie in practice, which they do not alledge to juſtifie themſelves, they have rather words of execration against those subjects which dare raise armes in Prejudice of their Princes under what pretext whatsoever, but only to make his Majesty see that they have held it neceſſary to do well, in doing ill, and that they are more worthy of pity then pain: Thus they accus'd themſelves, and were come hither to crave pardon of his Majesty: whom they adjur'd and beſeech'd by his Royall naturall goodnes, and by the glory their ramparts have gain'd to have conſerv'd his Majesty in the reignes of Henry the Great, to reſtore them to liberty, and to forget their faults, &c.*

Upon this Petition the King intended to shew them some Grace, but with this Proviso, to separate the *Rochellers* from the conditions he vouchsafed to the whole body of the Religion that they might be the more humbled, and so to take from them the presumption they us'd to attribut to themſelves to have a kind of authority over the rest, and from the other Churches the confidence and repute they had of them; so by reiteration of divers supplications they obtain'd at last these conditions. 1. That the Counsel and Government of

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Rochell be put in the hands of the body of the Town as it was 1610. 2. That they receive an Overseer of Justice, to hinder dissensions and factions. 3. That all new Bastions and Fortifications be demolish'd, and that she be reduc'd to her ancient circuit, 1560. 4. That his Majesty shall be receiv'd into the Town with all due respect and reverence whensoever he please. 5. That they of the Town shall not keep any Vessels of War in their Haven, and those that go abroad in course and to traffic shall ask leave of the Lord Admiral. 6. That the goods appertaining to Ecclesiastics, be restor'd, &c.

These being sent to *Rochell*, *Montauban*, *Castres* and other places were accepted, and a public Act pass'd; *That the foresaid conditions were taken as a most speciall testimony of his Majesties clemence.*

There followed a great calm in France after this, and all forces were withdrawn from before *Rochell*, except the Garrison in *Lewis Fort*. So the King had now opportunity to look abroad, and the first place he cast his eye upon was the *Valtolin*, and the *Grisons*, which border upon *Milan*: The King of Spain and the Arch-Duke *Leopold* his Cousin german, were call'd in there to preserve the Catholicks from the oppression of the Protestants who were powerfull, so coming to the said assistance they took divers old forts and erected new which they secur'd with Garrison: The Spaniard hereby had an extraordinary advantage to convey any forces from Italy to Germany upon all occasions.

The Protestant *Grisons* had recourse to the King of France, and he undertook their protection (according to an old league in *Lewis* the twelfth his time) not as much out of any great good will he bore them, but to deprive the Spaniard of that advantage, therefore he sent the Marquis of *Cœuvres* Ambassadour to the Cantons of *Suisse* that were Allies to France to exhort them to defend the *Valtolins*. *Cœuvres* from Ambassadour was made Generall of an Army a while after, and the Venetians with the Duke of Savoy ligu'd with him; He perform'd divers exploits there, so that the Truncheon of Marshall was sent him; The Pope interpos'd also in this busines, and had Forces there, and there were sundry skirmishes fought; The Spaniard told the Pope lowdly, *That he came thither to conquer Heretiques, and the places which he had taken from them were by consequence justly acquir'd, and so might be justly kept, howsoever it was reason he should hold them untill his charges were reimbours'd*: Hereupon Cardinal Barberin was sent to France to accommode things, but little could be done for that time.

This War of the *Valtolins* begot another twixt the Duke of Savoy and Genoa, the principall motive whereof was to divert the Spaniard from the Conquest of the *Valtoline*. Yet the Savoyard alledg'd that the Genoies usurped divers places from him, that they had offer'd him some indignities, in defacing and vilifying his picture; whereby they imitated the Leopard who by the naturall hatred he beares to man useth to teare his image with his ongles and teeth, when he cannot exercise his fury upon his body. The old Constable *Lesdignieres*

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notwithstanding that he had one foot in the grave, yet it seems he had an ambition to die in the field, therefore he made earnest instances to the King, that he would be pleas'd to employ him against the *Genois*; Hereupon he clammer'd over the *Alpes* to *Piemont*, where he with the Duke of *Savoy* made an Army of twentie five thousand foot, and four thousand horse, which they powr'd into the territories of *Genoa*; The Constable with *Crequy* his son in law had the Vantgard; The Duke with the Prince of *Piemont* seconded, and they march'd severall roads; The French took *Capriata* which was taken by Storm; and all were put to the sword and plunder: the inhumanitie which the Souldiers exercis'd upon the women, and maides rais'd an ill odor of the French in *Italy*; He took divers other places; And the Duke of *Savoy* on the other side rendred himself Master of sundry strong holds; In the interim there were three Spanish vessels which sayling from *Barcelona* to *Genoa*, were by distresse of weather forc'd upon the Coasts of *Marseilles*, and being out of any Port of commerce they were seiz'd upon by the Duke of *Guyse*, hereupon the *Genois* made a loud complaint in *Madrid*, and the King of Spain resent'd it so much, that a Proclamation issued out to Arrest all French vessels that were in any haven of Spain, and also to seize upon all the Marchants goods; and it was thought there were neer upon two hundred thousand French then dwelling or trading in Spain, and eighteen thousand in *Madrid* it self of all sorts of Marchants and Pedlers. In correspondence to this; The French King publish'd a Declaration wherein he interdicted all commerce to Spain.

The violent progresse of the *French* and *Savoy* Army against *Genoa* awak'd all the Princes of *Italy*; thereupon the King of Spain armes mainly, in *Milan* and *Naples*. The Emperour also sent a considerable number of horse and foot, and all conjoyn'd under the Duke of *Feria*, who was made Generall by Land, and the Marquis of *Santacruz* came with twentie two gallies, and five galeons by Sea with four thousand combatants from *Sicilie* to secure the sea of *Genoa*, who had eighteen gallies besides in cours, and ten thousand men by Land; upon the appearance of this great Army, most of those places which had rendred themselves to *France* and *Savoy*, open'd their gates to the Spanish army at first approach; They ravag'd the countrey of *Monferrat* up and down, and came thence before *Ast* a considerable frontire town of *Piemont*. Yet though there were five or six armies in motion that Sommer in *Italy*, there was no battail fought, but only sieges, and leagers, sallies and skirmishes; The approach of Winter brought a suspension of armes; afterwards a Treaty was appointed at *Monson*, and twentie Articles interchangeably accorded unto: so the War ended, and a Peace was renew'd twixt all Parties.

The Duke of *Savoy* was neither himself, nor by his Ambassador or Deputy present at this Treaty, which made him complain highly of the King of France, taxing him with infraction of Faith, and of the late Confederation between them: thereupon the King sent Monsieur

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sieur Bullion to him in qualitie of Ambassador to make an Apologie, that his Highnes should not impute this to ill faith, or any disrespect of him, or to any particular advantage his Majesty hop'd to receive thereby for himself; therefore his Highnes should not except at the light omission of complements which had more of exterior apparance, then sincerity. Bullion having notice that the Duke would give him a solemn open audience in the presence of most of his Lords and Counsell, prepared himself accordingly; and being come into the roome, the little Duke began to speak very high language, thereupon Bullion told him in his eare, That he perceav'd his Highnes to be mov'd, therefore he pray'd him (not as an Ambassador, but as a privat man and his servant) to speak of so puissant and illustrious a Monark with that moderation, respect and reservednes, that his Majesty might not be offended, and if his Highnes thought to satisfie himself by words of advantage, nothing would remain unto him but repentance so to suffer himself to be transported by a disordred passion: For the main businesse, the King having obtain'd by the Treaty at Monson all that he and his Allies could hope for if they had gain'd a battaile, as also the liberty of the Grisons and the Valtolines, his Confederates ought not to take offence if he as the Eldest, had treated himself alone for his Cadets, a title which they had reason to esteeme for honorable: Yet if notwithstanding these considerations his Highnes desir'd to have satisfaction in a stricter way he would undertake his Majesty should make him amends. In the interim he wish'd his Highnes to think upon any thing wherein his most Christian Majesty might be advantageous unto him.

The Duke being calm'd by these words, answer'd, that he thought upon Royalty, and if his Majesty would approve of his design (being already well assured of the Popes good will) he car'd not much for other Potentats, and he would be contented to be treated by the King, in the same manner as the Kings of France were us'd to treat the Kings of Scotland and Navarr: By Royalty he meant the Kingdome of Cypres, which title the Ambassador told him could not be had without distasting the Republique of Venice, (whose adoptif son he was) and whereas he pretended some places in Tuscany, that could not be done without displeasing the Queen Mother.

The King having dispos'd already of his 3. Sisters, began to think on a Match for Monsieur his Brother; now it is the stile of France to call the Kings sole Brother *Monsieur* without any further addition, to distinguish him from others, *Marie of Bourbon* daughter to the Duke of *Montpensier* was thought to be a fit wife for him; hereupon the King mov'd it unto him, but he desir'd time to consider of it, because it was a busines of the greatest consequence that possibly could import him, for a wife is the best or worst fortune that can befall a man in the whole cours of his life: There were some that whisper'd him in the eare to dissuade him from the said Match, 'mongst others the Marshall of *Ornano* his Governor, who told him, That if he married in France, all his Means, Credit and Fortune would be bounded there, whereas if he married some forren Princess, he might have some support, and a place

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place to retire unto abroad upon hard usage at home, which would make him better esteem'd.

This being brought to the Kings care, *Ornano* with divers other were taken out of their beds in the dead of night, and clap'd in the Bastile; hereupon *Monsieur* went to the Chancellor d' *Huligre*, and reproach'd him to have counsell'd the King to have his Governor pluck'd away from him so; the Chancellor excus'd himself, and denied that he had given such counsell; The King having notice of this poor answer of his Chancellor, sent the next day for the Seales, willing him to retire to his Countrey house; The Duke of *Vendosm* and his brother the gran Prior were thought also to do ill Offices in this busines which made them fall into some dislike, and so they were committed prisoners to the Castle of *Ambois*; amongst other things wherewith *Vendosm* was charg'd, one was, that he should say he would never see the King againe but in picture; so he was put out of the government of *Britany*, which was conferr'd upon Marshall *Themines*. Cardinall *Richelieu* having drawn a great deal of hatred upon himself about this match, he had a guard allow'd him, w^{ch} was afterwards recented according as the measure of envie and danger accrued. The King being at *Nants* in *Britany* to settle that Government, told his brother that he much desired he were married to *Madamoiselle Monpensier* for the good of his state, assuring him that he should find his own advantages in it: *Monsieur* answer'd, That if his Majesty judg'd that it would be for the good of his state he entirely conform'd himself to his pleasure; thereupon he sent a long complement to *Madamoiselle Monpensier*, concluding that he would prove a better Husband to her, then he was a servant: So the Articles of Mariage were drawn, and *Monsieur* was to have for his appannage the Duchy of *Orleans* with other places to the sum of one hundred thousand franks annuall rent, all charges defrayed, so much more in pension, and by speciall warrant five hundred and sixty thousand franks yearly upon the receipts of *Orleans*; which comes in all to about seventy thousand pounds sterlin per annum: so the Cardinall of *Richelieu* betroth'd and married them the next day at *Nants* with as much solemnity as the place could afford.

At this time there were whispers up and down France of divers plots that were to be put in execution; some gave out the King intended to repudiat the Queen; Others, that there was a design to clap up the King in a monasterie, and that *Monsieur* should raign; of this plot there was a whisper the mother was, because she alwaies seem'd to love the younger better then the elder. But I beleieve this was a groundlesse surmise.

There were divers in prison that would have perswaded *Monsieur* to a forein match, and endeavour'd to crosse this; Amongst others the Count of *Chalais* was one, who was beheaded at *Nants*, and there being no headsmen in the town, a prisoner that was in for a capitall crime, undertooke the office provided he might have his pardon, but he manag'd the instrument so ill that he gave the Count thirtie foure

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stroakes before he could separat the head from the body.

Sanctarellus the Jesuit obtruded to the world dangerous tenets about this time, viz. *That the Pope hath power to depose the Emperour, to admonish, and punish with temporall pains other Princes, and absolve their subjects from their Oath of fidelitie in case of heresie.* The book was burnt in *Paris*; Father *Cotton* Provinciaall of the French Jesuits, brought a public instrument from the chief of the Colledge of *Clermont* wherein their Society did disavow, and detest the said opinion of *Sanctarellus*, which instrument was commanded to be put upon Record.

It was an ancient custom in France before the erection of *Sedentary* Parliaments whereof there are eight, to assemble once or twice every yeer the *States General*, which Assembly was first call'd *Parlement*, wherein they treated of the highest Affairs of State, of making levies of money for the Kings extraordinary occasions; for punishing corrupt Magistrats, and questioning any Officers whatsoever upon the relations which were made by the Deputies or Members of the said Assembly, which were call'd in old times *Misfi Dominici*, viz. Those who were sent by the Lord or King; This, as I said before in the second *Lustre*, is equivalent to the High Court of *Parlement* in England, though in number it be inferior to it, in regard that this General Assembly of France consists but of foure hundred and odd members, that in England of neer upon seven hundred. Since the settling of the said *Sedentary* Parliaments, this Great *Parlement* hath bin seldom convok'd in France unlesse during the minority of the King: for which the Countrey hath suffer'd much; in regard this universall convention was us'd to keep good correspondence 'twixt the Prince and his people, and the pecuniary levies which pass'd by their Suffrages were given with more cheerfulness, and besides there was no need of so many Collectors and Receivors as are employed in the Kings ordinary Revenu, which are so numerous that the fourth part is drunk up among Officers in fees and wages; so that there hardly comes into the Kings Coffers cleer a *Quardecu* in every *Crowne*. This Assembly of the three Estates in France grew to be very rare, and in a manner obsolete, since the Kings had power given them to impose public assessments, the ground whereof was this; When the English had taken such firme footing in France that they had advanc'd as far as the *Loire*, and besieg'd *Orleans*, the Assembly of the three States in these pressures being not able to meet after the ordinary maner by reason of the interposition of the enemy up and down; that power which was formerly inherent in the three States of making Laws and assessing the subject with subsidiary taxes, was transmitted to the King himself during the war, which continuing long, that intrusted power grew in tract of time so habitual, that it could never be re-assum'd or the Kings divested of it: And that which made the busines more feasible for the Kings was, that the burden fell most upon the *Commonalty*, the *Nobility* and *Clergy* not feeling the weight neer so much: And it happen'd in so favourable conjuncture of time that the Clergy

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and Nobles were contented to have the Peasants pull'd down a little, because not many yeers before in that notable rebellion call'd *la Fquerie de Beauvoisin* which was suppress'd by *Charles* the Wise, they boldly put themselves in armes against the Nobility and Gentry to lessen their greatnes: Add hereunto as an advantage to the work, that this power being first transferr'd to *Charles* the Eleventh, there succeeded him a notable cunning King *Lewis* the Eleventh who knew well how to play his game; for amongst all the rest he was said to be the first who put the French Kings *horce de Page*, out of their minority or from being *Pages* any more, though thereby he brought the Peasants to be worse then *Laquais*.

Out of some distast the King took at the last Convention of the three Estates which was upon his entrance to his *Majority*, he resolv'd to summon them no more, yet because he might be in good intelligence with his people, a way was projected to call an Assembly of *Notables* which should be equivalent to the States Generall though fewer far in number, and some out of every one of the Provinciaall Seditary Courts of Parlement were chosen to joyn with them: such an Assembly as this was held in *Roven* (as we mentioned before) which did little good, therefore the King was advis'd to convoke such another at *Paris* this yeer which was done accordingly. They met in the great Hall of the *Twilleries* where the King spoke to them thus:

We protest before the living God, that We have no other ayme or intention but his honour, and the good and ease of Our subjects: therefore in his Name We conjure and pray you whom we have here convoqued, and, by that lawfull power which is given Us over you, We command and expressly enjoin you that without any other respect, or consideration whatsoever, without regard of pleasing or displeasing any person, you would afford Us with all freedom and sinceritie those counsels which you shall judge in your consciences to be most wholesome and convenient to the advancement of the publique good. The Cardinal de *Richelieu* also made a long rhetoricall Oration (which you shall find in the legend of his life hereunto annexed) but there was no great advantage accrued to the public by this Assembly of *Notables* though it lasted from the second of *December*, to the twenty fourth of *February* following.

This yeer a passage happend in the Court of England whence ensued ill-favord consequences, and no lesse then a war afterward 'twixt the two Nations; which was this, The train of French servants which the Queen of Great Britain had brought with her at her first arrivall was suddenly dismiss'd to the number of one hundred and twenty; In regard of no good offices they did 'twixt the King and Queen, and for some petulant bold misdemeanurs of theirs, by imposing also certain odd superstitious penances upon the Queen in prejudice of her health: Besides, his Majesty of Great Britain having settled a Royall joynture upon her of neer upon one hundred thousand crowns a yeer out of the choicest Demceans, Royalties and Houses he had in England,

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land, the Bishop of Mende sought to be Surintendant, and steward of her lands, and others of her French servants expected to have Offices in that kind, which the King would not hearken unto in regard the said French were unfit for those extern employments having not the Language, or knowledge of the Laws and Customs of the Countrey; therefore he desir'd them to rest contented with the domestic Offices they had about the Person of the Queen; they made a shew to be satisfied herewith, though palpable discontentments appear'd in their countenances and carriage afterward more and more. So they were suddenly discharg'd, and summon'd to quit the Kingdom, and there should be order taken for all conveniences for their journey by Land and Sea, and the arrears of their wages and pensions were punctually paid them.

The Queen for the present took much to heart the renvoy of her servants, and the King her brother resented it also when notice was sent him, though it was nothing to be wondred at, for he himself had discharg'd the Spanish servants his Queen had brought with her not long after she came, in the same manner.

The King of England dispatch'd a Messenger of honor to the Court of France to give a true information of matters, which afforded but little satisfaction; Thereupon Marshall Bassompierre was sent Ambassador extraordinary to England expressly about this business, but matters were thrust so far off the hinges that they could not be set right again so soon. The French began the first act of hostilitie, and that before any public Declaration was publish'd, by seizing a great number of English and Scottish ships at *Blay*, as they were returning from the vintage with cargazons of wines from *Bordeaux*, but the Scots were releas'd, the English still stay'd. A little after an *Edict*, issued out in the Kings name to interdict all commerce and traffic with England, that no kind of *grain, wines, or pulse* should be transported thither, nor from thence to France any *cloth, serges, woolls, lead, tinn, stuffs, silk stockings*, with an enumeration of divers other commodities: by this one may observe, the advantage that England hath of France, in varietie and substance of Marchandizes.

The French Chroniclers obtrude to the world divers wrong informations of this travelers twixt England and France. 1. *They relate that the French were casheer'd of the Queens service with little or nothing at all of their wages*, which is false, for they were payed to a peny, and many of them parted with gifts and much wealth. 2. *They report that the Queen out of her necessities had borrow'd much money of them, which was also a calumny*, for there was never Princess liv'd in greater plentie. 3. *They make the world believe that the first depredations at Sea, and acts of Piracy were committed by the English*, which is another falshood, for besides the seizure of the Marchants at *Blay*, where they came to reimburse their Ordnance, divers other prædatory acts were done by the French. 4. *They publish also another imposture, that while the Earls of Carkile and Holland were in the heat of the Treaty of a Match*

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with England, the same time they did machinat the ruine of France, the first time that England was ever taxed of double dealing. 5. That his Majesty of Great Britain had no hand in the Pacifications which were made twixt the King, and them of the Religion, whereas his Ambassadors and Agents did alwayes follow the Kings Army to their excessive expences, and did perpetually negotiat in their behalf; and became caution to them for performances on the Kings side.

Thus a black cloud hung between England and France, which brook out into a shrew'd, though short, tempest of war. The King of Great Britain riggs up his galeons, and in a very short time puts to Sea a huge royall fleet in perfect equippage of 150. Sayles, with an Army of 10000. combatants: which by the advise and directions of Monsieur *Subize*, and *Blancart*, who had fled to England some moneths before, were to sayle towards *Rochell*, and seize upon the Islands of *Ré* & *Oleron*. In *Oleron* the English, when they were in possession of *Guyen*, made those famous Maritim laws, which are observ'd by all the Western world to this day: The Duke of *Buckingham* was chosen Admiral by Sea, and General by Land of this great expedition; who publish'd this following Manifesto to the world.

What part the Kings of Great Britain have alwayes taken in the affairs of the Reformed Churches of this Kingdom, and with what care and Zeale they have labour'd for the good of them, is manifest to all, and the examples thereof are as ordinary, as the occasions have been: The now King, my most honor'd Lord and Master comes nothing short of his Predecessors therein, if his good and laudable designs for their good had not bin perverted to their ruine, by those who had most interest for their due accomplishment: What advantages hath he refus'd? what Parties hath he not sought unto? that by his alliance with France he might restore more profitably and powerfully the restitution of those Churches to their ancient liberty and splendor? And what could be lesse hoped for by so strict an alliance, and from so many reiterated promises by the mouth of a great Prince but effects truly royall, and sorting with his greatnes? But failings have bin such, that his Majesty, by so many promises, and so straight an obligation of friendship, hath not only bin disappointed of means to obtain Liberty and Surety for the said Churches, and to restore Peace to France by the reconciliation of those, whose breath utters nothing else but all manner of obedience to their King under the liberty of their Edicts: that contrariwise they have prevail'd, by the interest which he had in those of the Religion to deceive them, and by this means not only to untie him from them, but also to make him, if not odious unto them, at least suspected in perverting the means, which he had ordain'd for their good, to a quite contrary end: Witnes the English Ships not design'd for the extirpation of them of the Religion, but to the contrary, expresse promise was made that they should not be us'd against them in the last Sea-fight. What then may be expected from so puissant a Prince as the King my Master so openly eluded, but a thorough feeling equall and proportion'd to the injuries receiv'd? but his patience hath gone beyond patience, and as long as he had hopes that he could benefit the Churches by any other means,
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he had no recours by way of Arms: so far that having bin made an instrument and worker of the last Peace upon conditions disadvantageous enough, and which would not have bin accepted without his Majesties intervention, who interpos'd his credit and interest to the Churches to receive them, even with threatnings to the end to shelter the honor of the most Christian King, under assurances of his Part, not onely for the accomplishment, but also, for the bettering of the said Conditions, for which he stands caution to the Churches.

But what hath bin the issue of all this but onely an abuse of his goodnesse? and that which his Majesty thought a soverain remedy for all their sores, hath it not brought almost the last blow to the ruine of the Churches? It wanted but a little by continuing the Fort before Rochell, the demolishment whereof was promis'd, by the violences of the soldiers and Garrisons of the said Fort and Isles, as well upon the Inhabitants of the said Town as upon strangers, in lieu whereas they should have retir'd, they have bin daily augmented, and other forts built; as also by the stay of the Commissioners in the said Town beyond the time agreed on, to the end to make broyles, and by means of the division which they made to slide among the Inhabitants to open the gates to the neighbouring Troupes, and by other withstandings and infractions of peace, I say it little faild, that the said Town and in it all the Churches had not drawn their last breath: And in the mean time while his Majesty hath yet continued, and not oppos'd so many injuries, so many faith-breakings, but by complaint and Treaty, untill he had receiv'd certain advice confirm'd by intercepted Letters of the great preparation the most Christian King made to powre upon Rochell. And then what could his Majesty of Great Britain do, but to vindicat his honor by a quick arming against those who had made him a complice of their deceits: And to give testimony of his integrity and Zeale which he hath alwayes had for the reestablishing of the Churches, an establishment which shall be dear and precious to him above any other thing?

This is the sole end of his arming at this time, and not any particular interest: Yet whosoever would doubt hereof, let him consider the circumstance of times, and disposition of affairs as they stand now with the King my Master. For who will beleeve that he can have any dessein upon France, or to have projected conquests here in a time so disadvantageous, having now for his enemy one of the puissantst King of the world; and if he had such a design, surely he would have sent greater forces then I have now under command, whereof if the number were known they would be judg'd but Auxiliaries only, and that their ayme is no other but for the good of the Churches, which for so many important reasons and considerations he finds himself oblig'd before God and men to proteēt and succour. But if it be alledg'd that the King my Master hath been mov'd to take up armes for other respects, as the detention and seizure of all the ships and goods of his subjects at Bourdeaux, and other places of this Kingdom, to the breach and manifest contravention of the peace twixt the two Crowns, which in this point tend exprestly to the irreparable prejudice, yea to the totall ruine of commerce, in the rupture whereof the poore people of this Realme being not able to vent
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their Merchandises, groans not onely under the burden of so many taxes and impositions, but for the very necessities of life it self. That the apprehensions the King my Master hath of the powerfull encrease of the most Christian King by Sea hath mov'd him to arme for preventing the growth thereof, and lastly that being hopelesse of any accommodation of things, he hath bin constrain'd to put himself in armes. The answer to all this is, that whosoever will search the Arrests, prises and seasures which have bin made on both sides, he shall find the King my Master and his Subjects have hitherto profited by this breach, and that it hath turn'd to their advantage.

In the second place, he is so far off from being jealous of the pretended power by Sea, and that he should have reason to hinder it, that there needs no more then for him to grant, when he thinks it fit, Letters of Mart to his Subjects, and so these vain and feeble forces at Sea might be dissipated without the employment of any Fleet Royall. Finally, that there hath bin a necessity to arme thus, because there is no hope of accommodation otherwise, the contrary will be most manifest to him who will consider the researches which have bin made at severall times as well by their own Ministers, as by the Ministers of other Princes to the King my Master, to treat of accommodating things at their instigation. It appears by all this that the King my Master hath not bin forc'd to arme for any particular interest, but only for the defence of the Churches, for the security and freedom whereof he stood resposible: Yet there are some who dare amuse the world that his Majesty hath a particular dessein in it, and that he useth Religion for a pretext to gain a party, by means whereof, and by which conjunction he hopes to push on his purposes to the end at which they ayme. No, no, our Religion teacheth us otherwise, and the King my Master's piety (wherein he gives place to no man living) will never permit him. His dessein is the establishment of the Churches, his interest is their good, and his ayme their contentment; That being done, these Drums beating, these Ensignes displayed shall be folded up again. And all this noyse of War shall be buried in night and silence, which would never have bin but for their cause. Given aboard of our Admiral this Wensday the 21. of July, 1627.

Buckingham.

A good while before this Fleet was under sayle, the French Cardinal by some pensionary Spies he had in the English Court, had advertisement of the dessein, therefore there was a Remonstrance sent from the King to his Town of Rochell to this effect. That they were French, and that the English were proud and insupportable, that having vain pretensions upon this Kingdom, if they took any place it was to reduce it to slavery: That their Ancestors being acquainted with the nature of the English chose rather to lose half their goods, then to be under their domination upon the accord made for the delivery of King John when he was prisoner in England: That his Majesty had given proofs of the effects of his clemency so often, and with so much favor, that his grace seem'd to be above their crimes; for their Religion, if they thought to cast it upon the account, he left them the free exercise of it, touching Lewis Fort, which seem'd to give

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give some ombrage to their Town, he assur'd them, that continuing within the bounds of their obedience, there should be a cours taken for their contentment, but if it should come into the hands of the English, doublesse they would turn it to a Cittadell, to settle therein their tyranny; That the present occasion was of that high importance, that it might entirely and eternally gain them the affections of their King by their fidelity, or that they might thereby offend him so sensibly, that they might render themselves incapable of grace ever after, if they departed from their loyalty whereunto they were oblig'd as subjects towards their naturall Prince, and as Frenchmen against a strange Nation, and an ancient enemy of France.

By the Duke of *Buckingham's* Manifesto it appears the King of Great Britain had divers grounds of War against France; first, that his Merchants were so abus'd, their ships seiz'd on, and their goods taken away; secondly, that the French King grew so strong in ships, which in former times was us'd to be a sufficient motif for War of it self; and lastly, that Articles were not perform'd of the peace which was made with them of the Religion wherein England was engag'd; His Majesty of Great Britain waves the first two, and layes hold of the last, whereby the French *Reformists* had just cause to abet him in the quarrell it being more theirs then his; Though there were reports blaz'd abroad, of other odd motifs; Howsoever the *Policy of England* was tax'd (though her courage admir'd) abroad to engolf her self into a War with France, when she had another great neighbour King already on her back in actual hostility.

This Fleet gave a mighty alarme to France, which made the King to send the Duke of *Angoulesme* before *Rochell* with three thousand foot, and five hundred horse; The King following a few dayes after fell sick upon the way, and *Monsieur* was in mourning for his wife who died in Child-bed of a daughter. The Duke of *Angoulesms* Quarter-masters when they came to take lodgings for the billeting of the Army in the small villages about *Rochell*, took so much roome as would have serv'd an Army thrice as great; and this was done of purpose, for the report thereof being blown to *Rochell* and so to the English Fleet, the Duke, upon *Soubize's* advice, cast anchor at the Isle of *Ré*, whereas his first intention was for *Lewis fort* upon the Continent which dessein was diverted upon the (false) report of the greatnes of *Angoulesms* Army; There were hardly 1200. English landed upon the Island of *Ré*, but 1000. French foot, and 200. choice horse who had layn invisible in a bottom all the while, appear'd, and charg'd them furiously, the French horse did wonderful bravely, and the English foot no lesse, who having scarce step'd ashore were set upon and divers driven into the Sea and drown'd; but by the brave example of their Commanders they resum'd courage, and kill'd above one hundred and fifty of the enemies Cavalry, put their foot to flight and remaind Masters of the field; there was good pillage found among the French horsemen that fell, divers of them being persons of quality, and young spirits, which being stripp'd, many had their Mistresses

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stresses favors tied about their genitories. At this first act of invasion the *English* los'd some hundreds of men, amongst others *Blansart* Monsieur *Soubize* companion who had bin one of the chief tracers of this voyage in the English Court, was slain upon the sands, and Sir *John Heyden* was kill'd too, who had afterwards honourable buriall. The next day the English horse landed, and so they began to intrench: The chiefeft Fort in the Island was Saint *Martin* where Monsieur *Toiras* a choice man, had bin many dayes before; he sent the next day in a bravado a Page and a Trumpet to tell the Duke *he meant to give him a breakfast*, the Page had twenty peeces, and the Trumpet five given him: If the Duke had gon presently in pursuance of his victory for that breakfast toward Saint *Martin* he might in all probability have taken the Fort, but he stay'd divers dayes neer the Sea side, and in the interim *Toiras* had time to fortifie: and the cause he stay'd his march further, was that *Soubize*, & Sir *Will: Beecher* had gon to *Rochell* for more ayd, which the Duke expected; but the *Rocheller* gave them little countenance letting them in at the Postern gate: *Toiras* after the first, sent a second Trumpet to the Duke for burying the dead, offering a thousand pounds for his brothers body and others who were kill'd, but he had them gratis. *Soubize* afterwards came with five hundred from *Rochell*, and so the English Army march'd towards Saint *Martin*, in the way there was the little Fort call'd *Lapree*, wherein as there was advice had afterwards, there was but one old woman; *Soubize* counsell'd the Duke to march another way through the Vineyards, and to leave the Fort; this prov'd fatall, and indeed the greatest cause of the ruine of the English, for had they tane that little Fort it might have serv'd for a handsome retreat: Being come before Saint *Martin*s Fort Sir *Jo: Burrowes* view'd it, and said positively it was impregnable but by starving, and so advis'd the Duke to take what booty could be had in that Isle, and go to *Oleron*; but this counsell took not. While the English Army lay before Saint *Martin* there was an Engineer came out of the Castle, who desired conference with the Duke, but being suspected by his looks, he was search'd and a poyson'd dagger was found about him, wherewith, being put to the torment, he confess'd to have bin sent to kill the Duke, so he had no quarter; All the time the Duke was there, though it was concluded by the Counsell of War, 'twas impossible to take the Fort but by famin, yet no intrenchments were made all the while to block them up, but a way was taken to raise batteries before the Army had made its approaches, which prov'd chargeable and fruitlesse, for with the infinit company of shot made against the Hill, there was nothing done by way of breach, but more powder and shot spent then the spoyles of the Isle was worth, and still the passage was open for the Town round about to carry in anything; At last the English began to entrench, yet they could not hinder provision to come by Sea from the main; at last a sicknes happned in the Army whereby many dropp'd away;

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Sir John Burrowes was kill'd; and divers other illfavor'd accidents fell out, and discontents began to be fomented, for there came divers messages from the Cittadell to the Duke which he made shy to impart to the Counsell of war, whereat there was some distast taken.

The King of France was now recover'd, and he & his Cardinal were come before Rochell; there were all means under heaven us'd to preserve Toiras, & the Cittadel of Ré, whereupon the King writ his Letter encouragement unto him. *Monsieur Toiras, understanding the rare vertu and courage wherewith you and the rest that are in that Cittadel do defend your selfs against the English, I was willing to expresse unto you by this Letter the singular satisfaction that I receive thereby; Therefore you ought to beleieve that I will acknowledge such signal service to every one who shall have a share therein, in such a manner that they shall beare all the dayes of their lifes some mark of honor according to their merits: Therefore I desire you would send Me the names of all those that are shut in with you in that Cittadell, that neither Gentleman, Officer or Soldier remain without his reward.*

This Letter being safely arriv'd to Toiras it rais'd every ones spirit to a great height of resolution; as also the Kings Person being come so neer them. There were divers complements pass'd twixt the Duke and Toiras during the siege, and Master Jo. Ashburnham being sent to the Cittadel upon a Message, (and afterwards to the King of France himself) Toiras was complaining of want of Melons, the Duke sent him a basketfull the next day; He return'd the Duke some bottles of Orenge flower water, for which the Duke gave the Messenger twenty Jacobuses, whereas Toiras gave but five for the Melons.

When the English had planted a serious siege before the Town, Buckingham sent Toiras this Letter.

Monsieur; The desire I have to witnesse upon all occasions how much I esteeme and prize persons of quality and merit, shall make me alwayes proceed towards them with all courtesie; I think I have comported my self towards you in that manner hitherto, as far as the law of armes would permit me. In pursuance whereof before the quality of my affaires obligeme to take other counsels, and to alter my procedure, I thought good to exhort you to the consideration of your necessities, which you have already endured with much patience, and your courage haply might transport you to continue under vain hopes of succour, to the prejudice of your safety: For these reasons, and for the regret I should have to see greater displeasure befall you, we judge it convenient to invite you to render your self into our hands, with those that are of your company, and under your command, and withall the place possess'd by you, upon such termes of honor that you may not expect hereafter, if you oblige me to pursue the means I have in hand to accomplish my dessein, and that you let matters go on to extremity. So expecting your answer accordingly I rest, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant Buckingham.

Toiras returned this Answer.

Monsieur; Your courtesies are known to all the world, and being done with that judgement they use to carry with them, they ought to be chiefly expected by them who do good actions: Now, I do not find there can be a better
them

then for one to employ his life for the service of his King; I am here to that purpose, with a number of brave men, 'mongst whom he that is the least resolut would not beleerve to have satisfied himself, if he did not surmount all difficulties to help to conserve this place; In so much that neither despair of succour, nor fear of being ill us'd in point of extremity are able to make me quit so generous a dessein: Besides I should judge my self unworthy of any of your favors, if I should omit the least point of my duty in this action, the issue whereof must needs be honorable; And the more you shall contribut to this glory, the more I shall be oblig'd to be, Monsieur, Your most humble, and most obedient servant

Toiras.

The English assayed all means imaginable to render themselves Masters of the Cittadell by their Ships and inventions at Sea, and by assaults and storming a shore, nor did they fayle in any thing that human strength and courage could contribut; They took divers bottoms as they were transporting provisions from the Continent, but at last the Marshall of *Schomberg* had the hap upon a high flood, and in a dark night, to bring safely into the Cittadell a mighty supply of all things that might conduce not only to releevé, but to raise the spirits of the fouldier, so the approach of Winter, & sicknes with other inconveniences forc'd the English to be gone; which the Duke, though often advis'd and importun'd by the Counsell of War was loth to do, having provision for two moneths longer, and that he must be forc'd to leave a number of sick men behind, to the mercy of the enemy: But after a conference with *Soubize* he march'd away at last; There was a great debate in the Cittadell, whether the English should be poursuéd in the Retreat, or whether a bridg of silver should be made them to passe quietly away; The first opinion prevayl'd: so they had not march'd a Musket shot from the Town, but two hundred horse, & two thousand foot were at their heeles; The English made a stand, to see whether the French would fight, but they would not; so they continued their march till they came to *la Nova* a little village where they made another stand, thinking the French would charge; which they forboare still. Thence they march'd to *Lewisbridge* where they were to imbarke, but before two Regiments were pass'd over the Bridg which was very narrow, the French fell upon the English horse in the reare, and routed them so that the foot could not charge, then they began to fly, and the enemy had the execution of five Regiments which he put most to the sword except twenty Officers, and one hundred common soldiers, divers also were drown'd in the salt-pits, and dikes; so there perish'd in all neer upon two thousand besides the sick which were left before the Cittadell, all whose throats were cut, and sent in a Bark thrust from the shore to the English Ships. My Lord *Monjoy*, now Earl of *Newport*, was there taken prisoner, old Colonel *Gray* was fallen into a salt-pit, and being upon point of being drown'd he cryed out *cent mill escus pour maranon*, a hundred thousand crowns

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for my ransom, so the noise of the money sav'd his life: There were divers prisoners besides taken, but they were sent as a present to the Queen of England to whom the King writ this following Letter by le Chevalier de la Ramé, call'd du Meau.

Madame my sister, It having pleas'd God to blesse my arms in such sort that my Lord Monjoy, Colonel Gray, divers Captains, Officers and Gentlemen remaind my prisoners in the journey which pass'd at Ré the eighth of this moneth; I was willing to testifie unto all Christendom, the speciall esteem which I make of your Person, by sending unto you the said prisoners which I have let go upon their words for your sake. Nothing having invited me thereunto but the friendship which I bear you, and the knowledge I also have that I cannot do an act more acceptable to the Queen my Mother, then to do for your sake what I would not do for any other. Du Meau will assure you of my health, I pray you have a care of your own which is most deer unto me, and I assure you that the world hath not a brother which makes more account of a sister then I do of you; so I rest, my Lady and Sister, your most affectionat Brother Lewis. From the Campe before Rochell the last of November, 1627.

There were also forty foure Colours taken which the King sent to the two Queens at Paris, and they hang to this day in the great Church there.

This was the dismall'd day that the English ever had in France, who in times pass'd perform'd such stupendous exploits in that Countrey; yet the Invasion was made with much gallantry, for they might be said to have swom through water and blood to take footing on the Island, which discover'd much of the ancient courage of the Nation, Besides; they did before the Cittadel as much as men could do, & upon their marching away they made two stands to draw Schomberg to fight notwithstanding that they had not in number a quarter of the horse that he had newly transported from the Continent. They took likewise divers prisoners of note who were released also without ransom by his Majesty of Great Britain. Divers omissions there were that prov'd fatal to this expedition: 1. The not speedy marching of the English Army in pursuance of their first victory to the Cittadell where Toiras had time in the interim to fortifie. 2. The not taking of the little Fort la Prée in the way, which might have serv'd for a retreat. 3. That the Duke did not follow the advice of Burrowes to go to Oléron a greater Island, and afterwards of the knowingst Colonels so often press'd upon him, to march away before Schomberg came over, for so he might have made an honorable retreat then which there is nothing more difficult in the fait of armes, nor is it any disgrace to go away in the night for preventing of being beaten in the day.

Monfieur Soubizes counsell was the cause of these omissions, who was the main contriver of this infortunate voyage (with Blancart who

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who fell at first landing) And it seems a hard destiny hanted the said *Soubize* (though a worthy man of himself) in all attempts from the beginning; He was taken prisoner at Saint *John d' Angely*, he was forc'd to flye at *Royan*, and twice (with this time) at *Ré*; He had but ill succes at *Medoc*, and divers ill-favor'd encounters at Sea, though he lost lesse honor there then a shore.

Some outlandish Chroniclers would have it that there were three *Furies* which impell'd the English to this Expedition. 1. The ambition of *Buckingham*. 2. The felony of *Soubize*. 3. The rebellion of the *Rochellers*: but these men write more out of passion then knowledge, for as I instant'd in the beginning of this relation, there were divers causes to move England to armes as matters stood then.

The King having had such rare successe against the English, he resolves upon the planting of a serious siege before *Rochell*, thereupon order was given for an exact *circumvallation* by Land, and *Pompeo Targon* an Italian Engineer was employed for Sea works: the said *Targon*, being assisted with the Cardinals headpeece, fell on a plot to raise a huge dike in the channell which the *Rochellers* geer'd at first, but they found it the bane of their Town at last.

The *Rochellers* had recourse to the King of Great Britain for protection, who resenting their sad condition employed two Royall Fleets for their succour which made but sory returns; The Duke of *Buckingham* was to be General of the last, but he was tragically slain the day before he was to embark; Thereupon the Earl of *Linzey* went in his place, but before he appear'd before the Town, *Targon* had finish'd the gran Dike, whereof the Cardinal was dayly overseer, the King being then in *Paris*; there were certain kind of palissadoes and other strange fabriques rais'd in the channel to the wonderment of the world, for Marquis *Spinola*, at his revokment from Flanders to Spain, and passing by the Kings Army, said, he had never seen the like, being as trenches and barricadoes erected in the Sea; and they were done with that advantage that no navall power could do any good upon them; In so much that the English Fleet being arriv'd, the Cardinal sent to the General, that he should have safe passport to come a shore with six of his knowingst Commanders, with permission to view the works, and if they thought in their judgements that the Town was succourable, he would raise the siege without fighting a stroak: The General of this Fleet was the Lord *Rob: Willoughby Earl of Linzey*, whom the French Chroniclers call *Willaby Ingby*, and the General of the former Fleet they call Count d' *Emby*, in lieu of *Denbigh*, so they call *Burrowes Burrache*, *Ashpernham Hasburnim*. And as in this relation, so every where els they seldom or never truly render the surname of any English or German, which (under favor) is a great error, and a kind of stupidity and carelesnes in an Historian.

The King being return'd with the flower of all the Nobility of France to the siege before *Rochell* which had now lasted a long time, the Town was reduc'd to an extreme exigent and want of provision (having

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(having for greedineſſe of money ſold upon high priſes to the Engliſh being at Ré much corn and other things) therefore they came at laſt to a ſubmiſſion, their Deputies making this ſpeech to the King.

Sir, they who have bin a long time ſhut up in obſcure priſons, when they come abroad cannot behold the Sun without dazzling their eyes; ſo we whom a long captivity hath kept reclus'd within our walls, coming now to appeer before your Maſteſties face, we are not able to endure the brightneſſe of it without dazlement, and ſome horror of our faults paſſ'd which adds to our confuſion: yet the goodnes of your Maſteſty, whereof we have taſted the effects ſo often, and do now find, gives us the boldneſſe to proſtrat our ſelves at your feet to implore pardon, which our frequent relapses into our crimes do not permit us to hope for, &c. So they go on with a proteſt and deep aſſe-
 veration of their loyaltie for the future, wherein they will endeavor to ſurpaſſe all the reſt of his ſubjects.

The King answer'd. *God grant that you have ſpoken to me from the bot-
 tom of your hearts, and that neceſſity rather then an acknowledgement of
 your faults hath put theſe words in your mouthes, you have made uſe of all
 means and inventions to withdraw your ſelves from the duty of good and faith-
 full ſubjects, yet I cannot forbear to let you feel the effects of my goodnes
 and mercy; Be wiſer hereafter, and aſſure your ſelves I will not breake my
 promiſe.*

At the beginning of the ſiege there were in the Town about eigh-
 teen thouſand ſouls; but at the reddition there were not five thouſand;
 and ſcarce one hundred who had ſtrength to bear a Muſket; an ounce
 of bread was worth half a crown, a pound of biſket ſeven crowns,
 an egg ſix ſhillings, a pound of horſe-fleſh ten ſhillings, a cabbage leaf
 three pence; many dragg'd themſelves to the Church-yards and made
 their own graves: A little before their reddition they married all the
 young maids in the Town that were eſpouſable who had any por-
 tions. The King cauſ'd all kind of fortifications new and old except
 thoſe towards the haven to be raz'd, all baſtions and the walls to be
 demolish'd, and the moats fill'd up; ſo of a City ſhe became to be an
 open village, without Maire, Sheriffs, or any other Magiſtrat, the In-
 habitants to be contributory to all kind of taxes; thoſe ramparts that
 were built out of the ruines of Churches and Monasteries were em-
 ployed for reedification of the former Churches; a great Croſſe was
 erected in the Market-place; and a Decree paſſ'd that there ſhould be
 a ſolemn Proceſſion every yeer upon *All Saints* day about that Croſſe
 in remembrance that the Town was taken that day; all their Pariſhes
 were reduc'd to three; In ſo much that as the quality of the place, ſo
 the whole government thereof was entirely alter'd, as if they had bin
 put to begin the world again.

In the mean time while the King had triumphed thus over Rochell;
 the Duke of Rohan was very active in Languedoc, having conſiderable
 forces; which made the Parlement of Tholouze thunder out a furious
 Arreſt againſt him, *That for his ſo many Conſpiracies, Rebellions, Diſloy-
 alties, and for bringing the Engliſh into France, and other moſt odious Treas-*

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sons he was depriv'd of the title of Duke, made incapable of the benefit of the generall Act of oblivion, that he should be drawn by wild horses, his body dismembred and burnt, his ashes thrown into the wind, his posterity declar'd Peasants, his Duchy reunited to the Crown, and whosoever could apprehend his person and bring him living or dead, he should have one hundred and fifty thousand Franks for a guerdon.

The Duke so little valued this sentence that he caus'd Masuyer the chief President of *Tholouze* to be hanged the next day in Effigie in the Town where he was.

There was at this time in *Italy* a former difference reviv'd 'twixt the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Duke of *Mantova* about *Monferrat*, which had bin some yeers before accommoded by the intervention of France; The Emperour and Spaniard were for the *Savoyard*: hereupon *Don Gonzales de Cordova* besieg'd *Casal*: The King of France thought it concern'd his honor and safety to assist the *Mantovan* who had been once his vassal when only Duke of *Nevers*; therefore having settled all things at *Rachell*, he marcheth with his Army toward the *Alpes*, but demanding passage of the Duke of *Savoy*, the Duke a great while did complement with him; Hereupon he forceth his passage through snow and yce in the month of *February* and got over to *Susa* in person, which was rendred unto him; so the Duke and He were upon good termes, and free passage accorded for his Army to passe to *Piemont* to raise the siege of *Casal*, but *Gonzales* by the advice of the Duke of *Savoy*, quitted the siege himself in the interim, and so retir'd to *Milan*, and the King return'd to France.

While he was 't other side the *Alps* at *Susa*, by the interposition of the republic of *Venice*, there was an overture made of a reconciliation 'twixt *England* and *France*, which quickly took effect.

The King in his return ore the *Alps* with his Cardinal, caus'd a Pillar to be crected in the common road upon one of the highest Mountains with this ostentous Inscription; *To the eternall memory of Lewis the thirteenth, King of France and Navarr, most gracious, most victorious, most happy, most just; A Conqueror; who having overcome all Nations of Europe; he hath triumphed also over the elements of heaven and earth, having twice pass'd ore these Hills in the month of March with his victorious Army, to restore the Princes of Italy to their estates, and to protect and defend his Allies.*

Being return'd to France, he heard the Duke of *Rohan* mov'd still up and down with forces in *Languedoc*, and that he was upon point of entering into a confederation with the Spaniard, to which purpose He employ'd one *Clausel* to *Madrid*, who propos'd That if his Catholic Majesty would be pleas'd to furnish him with 600000. crowns annually, the Duke of *Rohan* would undertake to raise and maintain an Army of twelve thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse to make what diversion his Majesty would appoint, and to continue a war in France. There were divers other Propositions tending to the kind usage of the Catholics, and withrall a request That the Dukes pension from fourteen thousand crowns, might be augmented

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augmented to eighteen thousand, and that his Catholic Majesty would please to add to his brother Soubize's pension of eight thousand crowns a year, two thousand more. For performance of these propositions the said *Clausel* could give no other caution but the word of an *Honorable and most Religious Prince*, meaning the Duke.

These offers were accepted by the Spaniard, but the sum was reduc'd to three hundred thousand crowns payable in two payments every year.

The Articles being sent by *Clausel* to France by a *Zeland* Gentleman, he was suspected and taken in a Pond up to the neck, so he was hang'd at *Tholouse*.

The King at his return to *Provence* took *Privas* from them of the *Religion* after many bloody sallies and assaults on both sides; a place of mighty consequence; In the *Campe* before *Privas* the Peace was proclaim'd 'twixt *France* and *England* to dishearten them in the Town the more, for they thought that the King of Great Britain was still involv'd in their Cause. This Peace was negotiated by *Georgi* and *Contarini* Ambassadors to the *Mayden* Republic, who yet may be call'd the *Mother* of Policy and able to read Lectures on that *Thesis* to the rest of *Europe*; nor did there small glory redound to her by her successful intervention herein, and by making her *Saint Mark* Mediator 'twixt two such mighty Monarchs.

The words of the Proclamation before *Privas* pronounc'd aloud by a King of Arms were these. *Let the world know there is peace, amity, and good intelligence between his Majesty and his good Brother, and Brother in law the King of Great Britain, a cessation of all acts of hostility betwixt them and their subjects, with an entire confirmation of the ancient Alliances, and of the Articles and Contract of Mariage with the Queen of Great Britain, and an overture of a free and safe commerce between the subjects of the two Crowns: Therefore all persons are prohibited to attempt any think in prejudice of the said Peace under pain of being punish'd as Disturbers of the public repose, &c.*

The generall Articles also were signed there interchangeably in the ordinary forme, whereof there were some extraordinary, as that *In regard it would be difficult to make restitution on either side of divers prizes which have been taken in this war, the two Crowns are accorded, that there shall be no reprisall made by sea or in any other maner for that which is pass'd 'twixt the two Kings and their subjects during the said war.*

And because there are divers vessels at Sea, with Letters of Mart, which give Commission to combat the enemies which cannot presently have notice of this Peace, or receive Order to abstain from acts of hostility, It is accorded that whatsoever shall passe the space of the two next moneths after this accord, shall not derogate from, or empeach this Peace, or the good will of the two Crowns.

The King having dismantled *Privas*, and secur'd other petty places, he march'd to *Alets* a very considerable Garrison Town of them of the *Religion*, which being also surrendred, he march'd to *Languedoc*, took *Castres* and *Nismes* once the darling of *Rome* when she had her Le-

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Legions in those parts, though now no Town throughout France be a greater enemy unto her: These monstrous successes of the Kings made the Duke of Rohan hearken unto a Treaty, therefore being at Anduz^a he convokes a kind of Assembly of the chiefeſt of them of the Religion to whom he made this notable ſpeech.

Sirs: You know well enough that the King doing me the honor as to acknowledge me his kinsman, hath had particular conſideration of me in all generall Treaties made with your party, and that he hath made me to be perpetually ſollicited to ſeparat my ſelf from you, with aſſurances that he would raiſe my condition to ſuch a point, that might draw upon it the envy of the Princes, and the greateſt of his Kingdom: Neither are you ignorant that the generall intereſts of the party being deerer unto me then mine own, I have bin ſo far from lending an ear unto thoſe charming propoſitions, that to the contrary I have brook with his Majeſty whenſoever he hath refus'd or delay'd the execution of the Edicts paſſ'd in favor of us, and expoſing my ſelf to his indignation I have run the hazard of my fortun, my honor, and life: Gentlemen I pray do not think, that ſince our Cauſe is conjoin'd with that of God, but that I continu as ſtrong a Zeal and inclination as ever towards it: But in regard our affaires are in another condition perchance then you do imagin, I have call'd you hither to inſtruct you, and then to take ſuch order that your wiſdoms ſhall afford me to put in punctuall execution with as much fidelity as courage.

You muſt then conſider that any time theſe eight yeers that the King hath marr'd with us, heaven hath bin ſo favorable unto him, that it ſeems he rather went to the routing of our troupes then to combat, and by aſſaulting our ſtrongeſt Towns he prepar'd rather for triumphant entries, then ſieges: ſo that now the number of our combatants, and the ſtrength of our ſtrongeſt places doth not ſerve as much to maintain our party, as to augment his glory: ſo many Towns in Poitou, Saintonge, Guyen, and Languedoc which have not bin able to reſiſt him as many dayes as we count moneths, are moſt ſenſible proofs hereof: Rochell, alas! (with that he fetcht a profound ſigh accompagnied with tears) Rochell which we thought inexpugnable, that proud Town one of the miracles of Europe being now reduc'd to an open village on all ſides, doth carry, and ſhall eternally beare the marks of the valour and good fortune of this glorious Monark.

Having demolish'd this ſtrong rampart of the Goſpel, by which the whole party ſubiſted, he hath penetrated the Kingdom from one Diameter to the other, and travers'd in five or ſix dayes the Alps in the moſt rigorous ſeaſon of the yeer, which Julius Cæſar accounted amongſt his heroiqueſt actions, and Hannibal could not do it in fifteen dayes without ineſtimable loſſe; He hath forc'd the paſſe of Suſa marching ore the belly of an Army entrench'd and fortified in a ſtraight. He hath deliver'd the Duke of Mantova from the oppreſſion of the King of Spain, and the Savoyard, and oblig'd the latter who was Author of the War to receive ſuch conditions of peace that he pleas'd to preſcribe him: Repaſſing the Alps with like celeritie, he hath depriv'd us of Privas, and taken multitudes of places more by the terror only of his victorious Arms.

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He is continually assisted by the Cardinal of Richelieu, who for the fertility of his Invention, for the solidity of his Counsels, for the secrecy of his desseins, for his hardines in execution, and for his addresse in all affairs of consequence, I would acknowledge him the greatest man of Europe were he not born for the ruine of our party, and the abolition of the Reformed Religion.

This young, generous, warlike King, though too much zealous to Popery, following in every thing the counsels of this Priest as Oracles, can we doubt but our defence, though lawfull, as being for Religion, and liberty of conscience, be not an occasion to him to advance our destruction, under pretext of rebellion and felony?

After all that Gentlemen, you must consider that the taking of Rochell hath extinguish'd all Façons throughout the Kingdom which commonly serv'd to the encrease of our party; In so much that of three hundred places good and bad, which we had formerly in our hands, we have not 30. remaining, without rents, without soldiers, or means to put into them all together as many men as would serve to preserve one alone: For although our Parsons cry out daily in their Chaires that we ought not to despaire of heavenly succour, yet receiving every day proofs of the wrath of the Eternal, there is more appearance to expect punishment for our sins, then miracles for the re-establishment of our affaires.

Peradventure you will promise your selfs some great assistance from strangers, and specially from Protestants, whom the conformity of Religion which ties them to our interests, may oblige to assist us in so urgent necessity. But I pray consider, that the Germans have enough to defend themselves from the oppression of the Emperour, consider the elusions of the Hollander, the impuissance of the Savoyard who hath bled at the nose; the lightnes of the English who have concluded a peace with France without comprehending us who were the sole object of the war: And if you stay for the offers of Spain which loves not our Nation, and our Religion lesse, know that he studies how to engage us so far against the King, that we may become incapable of his grace, and that the succours wherewith he will supply us which is but a little money, will not serve but to prolong our ruine, by enfeebling France by our Civill Wars, and intestine broyles.

For my self, I am now as much solicited as ever to abandon you, and to take advantageous conditions of his Majesty, but I shall never hearken to any thing but wherein you may find your satisfaction in a generall Treaty for the whole Cause, as also particularly for your Towns; If your wisdoms find it to purpose that it be more expedient to seek our conservation with the exercise of our Religion, and liberty of our consciences within the obedience which we owe to our lawfull Prince, then in resistance, which, though just of it self, is held by the Enemies of our Faith no other then a Rebellion and high Treason, whereby under a more specious pretext, to exterminat and destroy us; Or if contrary to all appearance of human reason, you take a resolution to stiffen your selfs against so victorious and invincible a power, I resolve also to incur all hazards with you, though I am sorry that neither the advancement of the Faith can be found in my resolution, nor your security in my danger, nor your safety in my losse.

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This studied speech, with the sense of the late ill success, and of the Kings power, wrought so far upon the Assembly, that it extorted a willingness to submit unto a Treaty which was propounded accordingly: so a little after there was a generall peace concluded with the *Reformists*, and the King being in *Languedoc* where the *Plague* after this scourge of *War*, was very rife, he went therefore himself to *Paris*, and left the Cardinal behind to consummat all things; who amongst other places, entred *Montauban* where *Espernon* met him and reentered into a perfect friendship with him: *Montauban* following the example of all the rest of the Towns dismantled her self of all new fortifications, and restor'd the Church lands, &c.

The Cardinal being return'd to *Paris* the Peace with his Majesty of Great Britain was solemnly renew'd and sworn unto; but they of the *Religion* took it ill that there was no mention at all made of them in the Treaty, they having bin declar'd to be the object of Englands last war with France. All the Princes were commanded to be at this Ceremony, and because a difference did arise for precedency 'twixt forrein Princes of souverain Houses, and the naturall sons of Kings, a provisional Order was made by the Privy Counsel, *That every one should take place according to his seniority of age.*

Thus our fourth Lustre of the life of *Lewis* the thirteenth, ends with an Olive branch of a double Peace, one with a forrein Prince, the King of Great Britain, which was solemnly sworn unto by both Kings, Sir *Thomas Edmunds* being Ambassadour for the one, and the Marquis of New-Castle (*de Chasteau neuf*) for the other.

The second Peace was concluded with his own subjects the whole Body of the *Religion*, whom he had now reduc'd to an exact rule of obedience, having seiz'd upon, dismantled and secur'd all their præfidiary Towns which were neer upon fifty, whereof *Montauban* was the last that left her Mantle. So that they must hereafter depend no more upon *Garrisons* but Royall Grace. A mighty work, then which nothing could conduce more to make him so absolut a Monark.

Thus ends the fourth Lustre.

The fifth Lustre of the Life of Lewis the thirteenth.

THE King having with such a strong hand put a period to the Civil Wars in his own Kingdoms, by debelling his subjects of the *Religion*, and utterly disabling them from banding against him for the future, in dismantling all the tenable Towns they had for their security, and disguarding other places they held to the number of

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three hundred, of all Military strength, whereby he brought them to depend totally upon his favor for their liberty, and the performance of the Edicts granted in their behalfe, he now thinks upon another march ore the Alps for the support of the Duke of *Mantova* once his vassall (and still partly so) being a Frenchman by birth though not by extraction. And this he might now do with lesse fear then formerly, having quieted and secur'd all things in France; according to the saying, *Frustrà foris agit bellum, qui domi timet incendium*: He vainly combats abroad, who fears combustions at home.

The Duke of *Nevers* being now settled in *Mantova* the French grew powerfull in *Italy*, which the *Spaniard* could not well digest; Thereupon a Ligue was struck 'twixt the Emperour and him, whereinto the Duke of *Savoy* entred afterward. The Emperour questions the Duke of *Nevers* about *Mantova*, though not for the Title, yet for the investiture, which he was to receive from him: Hereupon he sends an Army to *Italy* under the command of *Colalto* a great Captain, and Marquis *Spinola*, a greater, was Generall for the King of Spain, nor was the little Duke *Emanuel* of *Savoy* inferior to either, who after *Henry* the Great's death, assum'd to himself the title of the prime soldier of *Europe*.

Now *Spinola* being tyred with the lingring Low Countrey Wars, and having recover'd the honor he had lost before *Berghen op some*, by that notable exploit of taking *Breda*, he procur'd his revokement from that service; Being come to *Spain* there was some clashing 'twixt him and *Olivares* about accounts; yet was he sent to be Governor of *Milan*, and so was made Generall of this War; He struck like thunder into *Monferrat*, and took *Nizza de la paglia*, and six places more notwithstanding the opposition of *Toiras* (who had such successe against the English in the Isle of *Ré*) and was now Governor for the King t'other side the Hills, and had shut himself in *Casal*.

Colalto with the Imperiall Army enters the same time the Territories of *Montava*, and takes *Viadana*, *Caneto*, *Gazole*, *Governo*, and presents himself before *Mantova* herself: where the Venetians had sent 1000. men for the security of the Town.

As the King of France was preparing for Italy, there were two ill-favored accidents happen'd, one was that Monsieur being mightily taken in love with the Princessse *Mary* the Duke of *Mantova's* daughter for a second wife, neither the King nor his Mother would give their consent unto it; which in discontentment made him leave France, and fly to *Lorain*; this sudden fallly was like to breed ill bloud, for he publish'd a Manifesto wherein he cast many aspersions upon the present Government, and the boundlesse Authority of *Richelieu*; but the businesse was taken up by the ministry of good heads, and Monsieur was chain'd to France again by an addition of the Duchy of *Valois*, which was valued at one hundred thousand Franks, yearly to his former apannage.

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The other was an insurrection in *Dijon* the chief Parlement Town of *Burgundy*, where the King had erected a new Court for the improvement of his revenues; The Officers of this new Court grew odious, as all Innovations are, which made the Populasse to mutiny, specially the Vineyard-men, who in confused troupes came into *Dijon*, and did many insolences. The tumult came to that height, and was of that consequence that the King himself went thither in Person to appease it; which he did, by the assistance and sage conduct of the Duke de *Bellegarde*; he pass'd an Act of abolition, provided that a tax should be laid upon the Comminalty for repairing the losses of some of his Officers who had their houses burn'd, and were otherwise damnified in this popular fury.

In the interim the Cardinal with an Army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse (effectif men) were ready to traverse the Alps towards *Italy*, for it was not thought fit the King should venture his own Person in the second Expedition, because his Physicians had discover'd some symptomes of an approaching sicknes in him; The Cardinal was accompagnied with three Marshals, *Creguy*, *La Force*, and *Schomberg*, who were all Generals of divers Squadrons; but the Cardinal was chiefeft Director of the War; Nor did he wave the title of *Generalissimo*. Nor do there want presidents in France how Cardinals have bin Generals of Armies which shall be produc'd in the life of *Richelieu* hereunto annexed.

The Duke of *Savoy* was somewhat shy to let this Army passe through the body of his Countrey, or that there should be staples of corn erected in some Towns for the supply of it; which made the Cardinal speak high language, demanding passage by vertue of the Articles of the late Peace at *Susa*: So the Duke was willing the Army should passe by the river *Douaire Susine*, but not by *Avigliana* and through the Plain of *Piemont*.

By this appears in what a disadvantageous posture Nature hath placed some Princes, whose Territories are situate 'twixt greater Potentates then themselves, which oftentimes puts them to weare double faces, and play with a staff with two ends. Such is the condition of the Duke of *Savoy*, who besides the abruptnes, and stupendous craggednes of most part of his Countrey, is plac'd between two mighty Monarks, the Kings of France and Spain, and is oftentimes put to his wits end how to comply with both, how to put off his hat to the one, and how to make a leg to the other.

The Prince of *Piemont* came twice to confer with the Cardinal, though much ado happen'd for the place of meeting: The Prince offer'd in his fathers name to enter into an eternall Ligue with his most Christian Majesty against the Spaniard, upon condition they should never disarm till they had made an entire conquest of *Milan* and *Genoa*; the Cardinal held this proposition extravagant, and illufory, and made of purpose to render the King odious to *Italy* by apprehensions of an endlesse war; thereupon having receiv'd a positif Commission from the King to make his passage by the sword, in case of further delay,
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he marched before *Pignerol*, besieged it, and took it; whereby there was a double advantage gain'd, a free passage for provision from *Dauphiné*; as also that the said *Pignerol* enchaining, as it were, *France* to *Italy*, commanded all the valley of *Piemont*.

The taking of *Pignerol* extremely troubled the Duke of *Savoy*, therefore he had recourse to the Popes *Nuncio* to stir in the business for an accommodation of things, Signieur *Maçarini* a moderate and well weigh'd Gentleman was joyn'd with him, and the Cardinal being return'd to *Lions* where the King and two Queens were, to give an account how matters stood; after much consultation and canvassing of the business to and fro, they propounded certain capitulations which they thought reasonable to both parties. The *Imperiall* and *Spanish* party though they did not disapprove, yet they delay'd to give up their resolution upon the said Articles to gain time, and see what success *Colalto* should get before *Mantova*, and *Spinola* before *Casal* the chief Town of *Monferrat*; *Colalto* a little after made himself Master of *Mantova*; The French were mov'd at this, and that *Casal* was in so dangerous condition, as also that the Duke of *Savoy* was now arming apace; thereupon the King with his Cardinal repasse the Alps with an Army of 23000. foot, whereof there were 6000. *Suisse*, and 4000. *Liegeois*, and 2000. horse, besides volunteers; So he march'd to *Chamberry* who presently yeelded, where Conqueror like he dismiss'd the Dukes Senat, and established a Counsell of his own; he march'd thence to *Conflans*; In the interim *Crequy* impatroniz'd himself of divers other places in *Savoy*; In the heat of these actions the King had a desire to visit the Queen at *Lyon*, whither he came, but falling sick, and disabled to return himself, he sent the Duke of *Monmorency*, and the Marquis de' *Fiat*, who had bin Ambassador in *England*, with a French Army to joyn with Marshall de la *Force* t'other side the Hills: The Duke of *Savoy* to prevent this conjunction, advanc'd as far as *Avigliana* with 20000. foot, and 4000. horse made up of Spaniards and Germans; The Armies met, and there were some thousands kill'd on both sides; Prince *Doria* was taken prisoner by the French, and divers other persons of quality, with seventeen Colours which were sent to be hang'd up as Trophies in the great Church of *Paris*: The French afterward took *Saluces*, and so seiz'd upon all *Savoy* by degrees: The losse of his Town *Saluces* sunk so deep into the Dukes breast, that he sickned thereupon, and died foure dayes after; whereby was verified the prædiction of *Octavio Lassani* in an *Ephemerides* he had publish'd a few years before, that Duke *Emanuel* should die suddenly after the taking of *Saluces*, which Prophecy he much spake of in his sickness. A little after there was a furious fight neer *Carignan*, wherein a great number of Commanders and common soldiers were slain on both sides. Signieur *Maçarini* the Popes Agent stretch'd all the finewes of his body, and strength of mind, to bring about a suspension of Armes, and so to paye a way for Peace; which he did with much dexterity: so there were Articles

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drawn, and command sent to *Spinola* from Spain, to condescend unto them; the apprehension hereof wrought so powerfully upon the Marquis that he should yeeld to a cessation before he had perfected his businesse before *Casal*, which he gave out to have as sure as a bird in a cage, that he sickned thereupon, and died speedily after; and being visited by Monsieur *Toiras*, who had bin Governor of *Casal* during the siege, he told him that *They had taken away his honor*: whereupon among other Panagyriks that were written of him, this *Epitaph* was made, which because it is somewhat extraordinary both for matter and wit, and being on so gallant a man I will here insert.

*Spinola gist icy, Passant, ce st assez dit,
Car son nom dor'navant doit servir a l'histoire,
L'Europe en mil endroits est tesmoin de sa glorie,
Sa valeur l'esleva, la vertu se trahit.*

*Pour avoir trop servi, l'Espagnol le rendit,
Le Teatre, & l'object de sa malice noire,
L'Honneur qu'on luy ravit illustre la memoire
Il le dit en mourant, & le ciel l'entendit.*

*Ne t'en estonne pas, les plus dignes services
Souvent en leur chemin trouvent des precipices,
Et de trop Meriter on devient odieux.*

*Si verra l'on pource au succes de la guerre,
Que s'il eut pris plustost place dedans les cieux
L'Espagnol auroit pris moins de places en terre.*

Thus rendred into English.

*Heer Spinola lie's hid, enough is say'd,
His name hereafter will fill up a story,
Europe in thousand places tell's his glory,
His valeur rays'd, his vertue him betrayd.*

*For having serv'd too well, the Dons of Spain
Made him the object of their lured hate,
His ravish'd honor, give a longer date
T'his fame, whereof he dying did complain :*

*But marvell not, the highest services
Meet oft-times with ill-favor'd precipices;
Exces of merit makes men odious :*

*Yet 'twill appear by the succes of War,
Had Spinola took place in Heaven sooner
Spain had on earth tane fewer places far.*

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The King this year had a very hazardous fit of sickness, in so much that he was not only prayed for generally throughout all the Churches of France, but the extreme *Onction* was once ready to be applied unto him.

About the same time the Q. Mother began to be averse to the Cardinal, which averfenes came by degrees, to a strong animosity and violent indignation against him, in so much that notwithstanding the interposition of the Popes Nuncio, and divers others, it was found incapable of reconciliation. The ground of it, as some thought, was, that he had not only advis'd but incited the King to war with her two sons in law the Duke of *Savoy*, and the King of *Spain*: but more of this in the Cardinals life apart.

The three Armies which the King had in *Italy* were mouldred away above the third part, by the sword, and sicknesses which reign'd amongst them; Besides the King was so drain'd for money, that he had scarce one thousand pounds remaining; and the soldiers being ready to disband beyond the Hills for want of pay, the Cardinal sent of his own moneys two hundred thousand Franks, this kept the French together in *Italy* till the Peace was concluded; which was done at last by the strenuous negotiation and new endeavours of Signieur *Mazarini* the Popes Agent extraordinary, and *Pancirolle* the Nuncio by a Treaty which was appointed to be held at *Querasque*: Hereupon there were Commissioners interchangeably sent from the Emperour and the King of France who manag'd the whole business, because the Spaniard would not be seen in it, for he came in only as an Auxiliary: the two main Articles of this Treaty were in the behalf of the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantova*; viz. *That the first, should have fifteen thousand crowns yearly revenue for all rights and pretensions to Montferrat*: That the other should be put in present possession of the Duchies of *Mantova* and *Montferrat*, and have to that purpose a complete Investiture from the Emperour. Hereupon there were cautionary Hostages put in the Popes hands till performance of Articles on both sides; but by a secret capitulation, *Susa* and *Avigliana* which were part of the Hostage, at the violent instance of the French Commissioners were to be put into the hands of some of the *Swiss-Cantons* which were allied to France, in whom, (though *Protestants*) it seems, the French King confided more in then in his *Holines*; this making of the *Grisons* Depositaries gave some discontentment to the *Spaniard* which was accommodated afterwards.

These so often traverses ore the *Alps*, prov'd costly expeditions to France, both for men and money; for there was an account made of thirty Millions of Franks which were expended in these wars, and above one hundred thousand French perished by the sword, sickness, and famine: there were multitudes also fell on the other side, and all this hurlyburly was chiefly for a meere Ceremony, viz. an Investiture: and poor *Europe* hath often parted with abundance of her most precious blood for such Ceremonies, such airy shadows, and formalities.

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The capitulations of the Treaty at *Querasque* were put in execution by all parties, and the places that were depositated for Hostages in the Popes and Grisons hands were delivered accordingly on both sides at the time appointed: But the French after the expence of so much blood and bullion were loth to part with *Italy* so, therefore a privat Treaty was set a foot 'twixt the King and the Duke of *Savoy* about *Pignerol*; It was propounded, *That in regard his Highnes had all his Countrey entirely restor'd unto him, though overun by the French Armes, and that he had acquir'd part of Monferrat by the last wars which conduc'd more to his advantage then to any others. And that whereas his most Christian Majesty understood that the Spaniard remain'd still arm'd in Milan, and had some desseins a foot which did menace no small danger both to the Duke of Mantova, and the confederat Cantons of France; and that he had intelligence from good hands how there was a Civill War fomenting in France, by some mistrusts and divisions which were put between his Majesty, his Mother, and Monsieur: therefore, lest his Highnes might be tamper'd withall to favor the projects of the Spaniard, to rid him of all scruples in this point, he desir'd that Susa & Avigliana, or Pignerol & Perousa might be put into his hands, to put French Garrisons in them, till these dangers were pass'd. Servient* the French Ambassador joyn'd with *Toiras* manag'd this busines so dextrously that the Duke accorded what was demanded for six moneths. Hereupon the Town and Castle of *Pignerol* with *Perousa* was put into the hands of the *Suiss* which the French had put formerly in *Susa*: And by the same Treaty his Majesty oblig'd himself to defend the person and states of his Highnes, if need requir'd with an Army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; provided his Highnes should proportionably have in readines ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse.

The Duke of *Feria* fell into a fury when he heard of this accord, and call'd heaven and earth to witnes that it was an evident infraction of the Treaty at *Querasque*, by which the French were *not* to hold any place or passage into *Italy* within the states of the Duke of *Savoy*: So the Duke being lowdly reproach'd thereof by the Spaniard, the answer he gave was, *That he might dispose of his own as he pleas'd, &c.*

The six months being expir'd of holding *Pignerol*, a motion was made to the Duke, that, for his own safety, the security of *Mantova*, and the French-Confederat *Grisons*, as also for freeing his Majesty of all surmises, and the better enabling him to occur all desseins and dangers, his Highnes would make an absolut sale and transport unto him of the Town and Castle of *Pignerol* and *Perousa*, for a valuable pecuniary consideration: *Toiras* and *Servient* carried themselves with such dextrous addresses that they induc'd the Duke to hearken to this Proposition, and afterwards they drew from him an absolut consent; so a Legal Instrument was made, whereby an irrevocable transport and vent was made of the propriety, possession, and sovereignty of the Town and Castle of *Pignerol*, *Riva*, *Bodenasco*, the higher *Biacasco*, *Castagrande*, and that which was within the confines of the said *Pig-*

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nerol, the Village and Abbey of *Valdelema*, as also the Village and Fort of *Peroufa*, *Pinacle*, *Villars*, *Les porte*, the great and small *Diblon* and their confines, and other lands which are within the valley of *Peroufa*, (excepting those which depend on the same valley on the left hand going from *Pignerol* to *Pragelas*, beyond the River *Chuson*) all other places shall be perpetually united to the Crown of France upon the payment of four hundred ninety four thousand crowns in good money.

This purchase of *Pignerol* brought with it another strong engagement 'twixt the King and the Duke, viz. a *Ligue* defensive and offensive, by vertu whereof the one was to furnish twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse as formerly; but the Duke was scrud up to a greater number then before, being to furnish twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, upon necessitie of conjunction.

Our story hath sojourn'd a good while in *Italy*, we must now crosse again the Hills to *France*, where we find the Queen Mother and the Cardinall irreconcilable notwithstanding that the King himself labour'd much in the busines; her passion went so high that she resolv'd never to sit in Counsell while the Cardinall was there. This avernes to the Cardinal was also infus'd into *Monsieur*, who abetted his Mother, and espoused her quarrell; So without the Kings conge, he retires to *Orleans*, and thence to *Lorain*, the Duke of *Bellegarde* then Governor of *Champany* attended him all the way through that Province, notwithstanding that he had an intimation to the contrary from the King himself who followed Monsieur as far as *Dijon*, but he was too swift for him, and so could not be overtaken. Hereupon a Declaration issued out wherein the Count of *Moret* Monsieurs base brother, the Dukes of *Elbeuf*, of *Bellegarde*, and of *Roanez*, *Puy-laurens*, President *Coigneux*, and *Monfigot*, and father *Chamteloube* were proclaym'd Traytors, for infusing ill counsels into *Monsieur*, and for accompagnying him out of the Kingdom without his Majesties consent; this Declaration was sent to be verifi'd by the Court of Parlement at *Paris*, the Court paus'd upon't and excepting against the style and form of it delayed the verification putting the busines in deliberation, yet they all blam'd and unanimously condemn'd the ill counsels, and proceedings of Monsieur; The King taking an indignation at this delay, sent for the whole body of the Parlement to attend him at the *Louure*; where, by the mouth of the Lord Keeper, they receiv'd a severe rebuke, and the Clerk of the Court bringing with him the Register of the *Act of deliberation* upon the former Declaration, was commanded to draw it off the file, and in the place thereof to put the *Arrest* of the Privy Counsell, whereby the said Act was annull'd, with expresse inhibition to the said Court of Parlement, to put in deliberation for the future any Declarations of that nature concerning affairs of State, but to proceed instantly to the verification, and registring of them.

The Queen Mother was now retir'd to *Campeigne*; where the Mar-
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shall of *Eftree* had a Garrison which she interpreted to be no other then a guard upon her, thereupon the King difmifs'd the said Garrison: So she privatly got away thence in Madame *Frenoy's* Coach, accompagnied only with the said Lady, and one of her Chamberwomen to *Avenes*, which lies within the Territories of the King of Spain in the 17. Provinces: and thence to *Bruxels*, the Archducheffe having come to meet her on the way as far as *Mons* in *Henault*.

Monsieur from *Lorain*, and the Queen Mother from *Bruxells* writ to the King, and complain'd bitterly against the Cardinal how he would have removed her to *Moulins* and *Angers* where the contagion raignd, and so have thrust her into the jaws of death; she conjur'd him to think on the relation of Mother and Son, and that she was the person most interessed in his preservation, yet the Cardinal had pernicious intentions to make her die between fower walls; this was the cause she left France, and to journey thirty leagues without eating or drinking; she goes on in declaring how conformable she was to his will in all things, and how she respected his Authority in the hands of her enemies; and so concluds that not being suffer'd to live in France in the calm of her own innocency, the most sensible misery that could befall her was to be bereft of his presence, &c. Besides this Letter she sent another to the Parlement at *Paris*, with a Remonstrance against the present Government.

The King returns her a harsh Answer, and cleers his Cardinal in all things; and publish'd a Declaration wherein he disavowes that she was ever prisoner, but that she had liberty to choose any place throughout the whole Kingdome to live in, except *Champany*, and for more respect she should have the Government of the place and Province; he declares further that her departure with his Brothers, was plotted by those that are not only envious but enemies of the felicity of France; therefore he prohibits and utterly forbids all his subjects of what quality or condition soever, to have intelligence or correspondence with his said Mother and Brother, or with any of their domestic servants, or with those that are partakers of their Counsels under what pretence whatsoever.

Gustavus King of Sweden having by the intercession of the Ambassadors of his Majesty of Great Britain and France, made his peace with the *Pole*, strikes into Germany, and like an impetuous torrent carries all before him for a time. He enters into an Alliance with France, and in few dayes the Treaty was concluded, whereof the Articles were these that follow.

1. The present Alliance which is made betwixt their Majesties is principally for the defence of all their oppressed friends, and for the safety of commerce by Sea; to reestablish all the Princes and Estates of the Empire in the same condition they were before the beginning of the German war, and to cause all Forts and intrenchments upon the *Baltic* Sea to be demolish'd.

2. To this effect his Majesty of Sweden doth promise to entertain, and conduct upon his own charge an Army of thirty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse into Germany; and the King of France promieth

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miseth to contribut every yeer for the maintenance of the said Army one million of Franks (two shillings *sterling a peece*) one moiety in *May*, the other in *November* next following in *Paris* or *Amsterdam*, and that this Alliance shall last to the first of *March* in the yeer 1636.

3. That if it please God to favour the armes of the King of *Sweden* he shall not alter or change the Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion in those places that he shall conquer, but he shall permit the Inhabitants to have free exercise of their Religion, according to the Treaty at *Passaw*, and the constitutions of the Empire.

4. That he shall keep himself in good friendship and neighbourhood with the *Electo*r (so he call'd him) of *Bavaria*, and with the Catholic ligue, or at least in a neutrality, provided they do the like.

5. That no Peace or Treaty be accorded by one without the consent of the other.

6. That in regard this Treaty was begun the last yeer, and in the interim his Majesty of *Sweden* hath bin at great expence, in consideration hereof, his Majesty of *France* shall deliver the summe of three hundred thousand Franks in good Letters of exchange, which ought not to be deducted out of those summes that were specified before for five yeers to come.

These Articles being agreed upon, the King of *France* sent them to the *Bavarian* to approve of, and subscribe them, but the old Duke suspended his resolution many moneths, and then the *Swed* having gain'd the great Battail of *Leipsic* against the Imperialists and the *Catholic Ligue*, the affaires of *Germany* chang'd face: *Charnassé* the French Ambassador came from the *Swedish* Army not without some complaints to *Paris*; yet he was sent back with the Marquis of *Brezé* Ambassadour extraordinary to the King of *Sweden* to solicit still for a *neutrality* twixt his Army, and that of the *Catholic Ligue*; which was agreed upon, provided that the chief of the said *Ligue* would separat their Forces, and retire into their own Territories; This declaration of neutrality being brought to the *Bavarian* he was willing to sign it, provided that the *Swed* would restore what he had taken from the said *Catholic Ligue* since the Battail of *Leipsic*; for after that Battail he had made a monstrous progres and penetrated the heart of *Germany*, having now cross'd the *Rhine* (which he had promis'd not to do without the French Kings consent) and seiz'd upon the City of *Metz* where he now kept a Court Emperour-like; The French Ambassadors proposing unto him a restitution of what he had taken from the *Catholic Ligue*, he refus'd it, whereupon there were high words pass'd twixt him; and the Ambassadors, so the *neutrality* ceas'd, and turn'd to hostility afterwards, and the *Swed* commanded all Roman Catholics to void the Town of *Metz* for fear they had intelligence with some Spanish Troups that were at *Spire*; but that order was revok'd by the mediation of the French Ambassadors; so the alliance lasted still twixt the two Kings.

The King of *France* a little after this being march'd as far as *Metz* with

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with an Army for the defence of his Allies, was visited there by some German Princes, and the Duke of *Lorain* came thither in Person, of purpose to see him, and to scatter some cloud's of diffidence and jealousies that were 'twixt the King and him: so a new Treaty was agreed on wherein there were some Articles very disadvantageous to the *Lorrainer*: As first, *That the said Duke should depart from that time forward from all Intelligences, Lignes, Associations or Practices, which he had or might have with any Prince or State whatsoever to the prejudice of his Majesty, his Estates, and Countreys under his obedience and protection; as also in prejudice of the Alliance and Confederation 'twixt him and the King of Sweden, and 'twixt him and the Duke of Bavaria for the conservation of the liberty of Germany, and the Catholic Ligue; and defence of the Princes that are allied and friends to France.* Secondly, *That the said Duke shall not treat, or make any Alliance with any Prince or State whatsoever, without the knowledge and consent of the said King.* Thirdly, *That he cause to retire out of his Countrey all such that are enemies to the King, and that he shall give neither passe nor safe conduct to any of his subjects that have gone out of France against his pleasure.* Fourthly, *That no Military leavies be made in his Countrey against his Majesties service, nor that any of his subjects serve or assist his enemies.* Fifthly, *That he shall give liberty and power to them who shall be sent from the King to seiz upon and arrest any rebellious subjects being accus'd and convinc'd of Treason; These with other Articles were agreed upon in this Treaty which the King would not comence unles he had first deliver'd up Marsal a strong tenable place.*

In such a posture, as we told you before that Nature had plac'd the Duke of Savoy, in the self same posture (the quality of the soyles excepted) may the Duke of Lorain be said to be, being situated 'twixt mightier Potentats then himself, who, as once the Lion did increpat the innocent Lamb for troubling the waters, may make him the subject of their displeasure and advantage at any time to devour him: But the Lorrainer of the two, is in a worse condition then the Savoyard, being homageable to the Emperour and the King of France, holding Lorain in fee of the one, and the Duchy of Bar of the other:

While the Treaty at *Vic* 'twixt the King and the Duke of *Lorain* was in agitation, the Marshall *de la Force* and *Schomberg* took *Moyenvic*, whence they marchd before the Town of *Triers*, the protection of whose Archbishop the King had undertaken, he being amongst the seven Electors Lord High Chancellor of France, as he of *Collen* is of *Italy*, and he of *Mentz* of *Germany*; *Triers* in a short time fell to parley, and so rendred herself upon honorable termes.

In this yeer there came an Ambassador from the Emperour of *Marocco* to the Court of France, who afterwards went to his Majesty of Great Britain, taking France first in his way, as she stood; he brought a Letter in Arabic to this effect.

God is Our confidence.

These Letters of the most mighty Emperour who being assisted by Divine grace

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grace and favor is alwayes happy, swelling with victory; whose most illustrious Court is full of grandeurs and prosperity, are sent to the most Noble, the most High, and most excellent, Dignity whose Realm within the bounds of Christendom hath the most illustrious name and ranke: To the Dignity, I say, of the most eminent, the most noble, the most happy, and the most renowned Emperour the King of France and Navar, the Emperour Lewis, son to mighty, magnificent, famous and magnanimous Emperours: Having wish'd glory to God the soverain Master of all Glory and Majesty, whose Empire hath no need of any Counsellor, or the assistance of any Prince, whose prayes cannot be expressed by any tongue though never so eloquent; Having rendred the honours which are due to our Lord Mahomet, most eminent in dignity, most rich in treasure, preserver of men in the tempestuous day of judgement; we desire of God that the people made famous by this Prophet be acceptable unto him, that he please to maintain them ever in his particular protection, and that all they who love him persist to the end in the exercise of good and laudable actions: And we make particular prayers for the prosperitie of his most high, imperial, prophetic and most eminent throne, assisted always by God, and wherein by the meanes of his invincible force the elect people, and all his subjects are exalted, his memory and steps remaining to eternity.

This Letter of our high Majesty hath bin written from the throne of our Empire of Maroc, which God by his grace and goodnes, and by the benediction of his Apostle conserve, who doth not subsist but by the continuall assistance of God, whose providence never ceasing to assist him serves incomparably more to his defence then any other of all the Armies of the world, for which we render infinit thanks to his Divine Majesty, to whom is the sole power, strength and might, &c.

The Superscription was

To the most renowned and magnificent dwelling, within all the bounds of Christendom, the most eminent Palace.

The Palace of the most Honorable, the most Noble, the most Mighty Emperour, the King of France and Navar, the Emperour Lewis.

This Mahumetan Ambassador came from Muley King of Morocco in Barbary for the redemption of certain slaves that were in *Marseilles* Gallies, which he obtain'd; and in exchange all the French that were Captifs in *Saly* and other places belonging to Morocco were releas'd; besides it was agreed that the King of France might nominate *Consuls* in those Towns of commerce which were under his Dominion who should have power to determin any controversie that might intervene between the subjects of France there trafficking.

Such a bombardicall Letter he brought also (accompanied with presents) to the King of Great Britain, who sent an English Fleet in his favor against the Pyrats, and Rebell-Saint of *Saly*, who did him much service for reducing the Town to his obedience.

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Don *Gonzales de Cordova* passing through France to *Flanders*, came to kisse the Kings hands; who sent him a rich sword valued at four thousand crowns inlay'd with Diamonds, which he refus'd; and Monsieur *Guron* conducted him to *Cambray*, he refus'd also the present that *Gonzales* would have given him, saying, *That he disdain'd any present from him who refus'd the bounty of his King.*

The Duke of *Lorain* receives Monsieur again into his Countrey, notwithstanding the former Treaty, and leavies forces for him to enter France; the King being extremely incens'd thereat, marcheth suddenly towards *Lorain*, and employes the forces that was design'd for *Germany* that way, with whom he joyn'd in person and took divers places in *Lorain*; The Duke finding himself unable to resist, and being in despair of any forces from *Flanders*, the *Spaniard* being then busie at *Mastric*, he had recourse to a Treaty, which the King yeelded unto; The Treaty was to be held at *Liverdun*, where the Cardinal met the Deputies of the Duke; Most of the Articles of the Treaty at *Vic* were confirm'd; and the Duke was oblig'd besides to deliver unto him *Famets* and *Stenay* for hostage, and to make an absolute sale unto him of the County of *Clermont* for a pecuniary sum: thus the busines was quickly concluded, and the Cardinal of *Lorain* was to remain for pledge till the Capitulations were perform'd.

The Duke of *Lorain* being thus surpriz'd, was made unable to assist Monsieur as he expected; nor could he have any supplies from *Flanders* because of the siege at *Maestricht*, yet he enters France with eighteen hundred horse, most of them strangers, as *Liegeois* and *Crabats*; He publish'd a Manifesto to justifie his taking of Arms, *Charging Richelieu with the usurpation, and dissipation of France, and that he had no other intent but to let his Majesty know how much he was deceiv'd, and so exhorted all good Frenchmen to assist him in his laudable desseins.*

The King caus'd a counter-Manifesto to be proclaimed, declaring them Traytors in the highest degree that should adhere to Monsieur, yet if he would lay down his Arms, and submit himself within the compas of forty dayes after the publication of the said Manifesto, he would forget all faults pass'd, and Monsieur should find such welcome that he should have cause to extoll the Kings goodnes, and detest the pernicious counsels that had bin given him: The King doubting that words would little prevail without the sword, dispatch'd Marshall *de la Force* with ten thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse to *Languedoc*, because he understood that Monsieur would draw in *Monmorency* to joyn him, which he did, with foure Bishops more: the Duke of *Monmorency* then Governor of *Languedoc* summons the States together, wherein he declar'd himself for Monsieur, and never to separat from his interests till the Government was reform'd.

The King hearing of *Monmorencies* revolt was extreemly incens'd, and the more because he had sent him extraordinary Commission, and money besides to raise Troups for his service, wherewith he was now ready to bandy against him, therupon he commanded his House

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in *Paris* to be seiz'd on, and all his goods inventoriz'd, amongst which there were 550000. Franks found in money : He caus'd a Declaration also to be publish'd wherein he and all his Adherents were proclaym'd Rebels.

Monsieur and *Monmorency* were grown so strong that the King in Person with an Army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse went to suppress them : Some of the Kings Army was about *Castel nau-d' Arry*, under the command of *Schomberg*, where *Monmorency* in a martial heat, but more in a desperat then valiant resolution, accompagnied with the Earls of *Rieux*, and *Fevillade*, and only eight horse more fac'd and set upon the Royalists, broak the ranks of some of them, kill'd divers, and hurt many ; but after he was hurt himself in the face, and in sundry places about his body so that he fell off his horse, and cried out for a Confessor ; so one of his men taking him upon his back, he was taken prisoner and carried upon a ladder to *Castel nau d' Arry* : In the said conflict was kill'd one of *Henry* the Great's base sons the Count of *Moret*, with the fore-mentioned Earls of *Rieux* and *Fevillade*, and the whole Army was routed.

Notwithstanding all these provocations the King sent a gracious Message to *Monsieur* inviting him to come unto him, and the same day *Monficur* had sent to the King *Chaudebbonne* with these Propositions : 1. That the Duke of *Monmorency* should be releas'd, and reestablish'd in his estate and government, together with the Dukes of *Elbauf* and *Bellegarde* : 2. That his Majesty would render to the Duke of *Lorain* all the places he detain'd from him : 3. That an Act of abolition should passe : 4. That a million of Franks which he had borrow'd should be pay'd. Whereunto the King made this Answer.

My Brother, the Propositions which Chaudebbonne hath made me in your behalf, are so little sortable to my dignity, to the public and your own proper good, that I cannot return any other answer then what I sent you formerly by Monsieur Aiguebonne to testifie my affection unto you ; I pray dispose of your self to receive the effects of them, assuring you that in so doing I shall forget what's pass'd, and shall make it appear unto you more and more that I am your most affectionat Brother

Lewis.

This Letter was seconded a little after with Articles to this effect.

1. That *Monsieur* should acknowledge his fault by writing, and desire the King to forget and pardon.
2. That he give the best assurance he can not to fall into a relaps.
3. To have no intelligence with *Spain*, *Lorain* or any other strange Prince, nor with the Queen his Mother as long as she continues in the case she stands, and to sojourn in what place the King shall appoint him.
4. That he mingle not his interests with those that were his Complices and ill counsellors which must be proceeded against according to law, yet, amongst them his domesticks shall be exempted.
5. That *Puy Laurens* who suggested these ill Counsels into him sincerely confesse what further practises were

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were intended against the *State*, and that he acknowledge himself culpable, before he receive grace.

To all these Monsieur subscrib'd in this forme. *We Gaston son of France, unic Brother to the King, Duc of Orleans, Chartres and Valois, Earl of Blois do consent to what is propounded by his Majesty, and upon the word and faith of a Prince we promise a religious performance of all the Articles: We promise besides to conspire with all our power to all the good designs of the King for the grandeur and safety of his Kingdoms, and to love them that love his Majesty, and specially our Cosen the Cardinall of Richelieu, whom we hold to be necessary to the Person and States of the King for his fidelity.*

After this a Declaration was publish'd for all strangers that came in with Monsieur to quit the Kingdom within 8. dayes; some of the chiefeft instruments of this sollevation were cut off by the sword of Justice, and amongst other the foure Bishops spoken of before, were legally proceeded against, by a speciall Brief from Rome wherein there were foure Archbishops nominated as Deligats to judge them, whereof the Archbishop and Prince of *Arles* was chief; though the ancient form of proceeding against Prelats for crimes was us'd to be by a *Synod* of the Gallic Bishops: Not one of the foresaid Delinquent Bishops was condemn'd to die, only the Bishop of *Albi* was depriv'd of his Bishoprick, and confin'd to a Monastery to eat the bread of sorrow.

There fell this yeer upon the Kings return from *Narbon* through *Languedoc* in a sudden showr of rain such huge cataracts of water from the Airie Region, that two hundred persons were drown'd upon the highwayes, four Coches of the Queens, and fifty Carts were swallowed up in the deluge.

The Duke of *Monmorency* being taken prisoner was carried to *Tholouse* where he was to receive his tryall not by his Peers but by the ordinary way of Justice, he was legally convicted and condemn'd; there were all means possible us'd for his pardon, but the King was inflexible, so with exemplary patience and piety he pai'd Nature her last tribute; he put off his doublet himself, and cut off his hair and mustachos before he came to the Block.

Thus fell *Henry of Monmorency* Duke, Peer, and Marshall, and of the ancientest extractions of *France*, in so much that *Henry the Great* was us'd to say, that he was a better Gentleman then himself; the Motto in his Scutcheon was *Dieu aide le premier Chevalier Chrestien*, God preserve the first Christian Cavalier; he left no son nor male Heir behind, so this Illustrious Family went out like a snuffe, *such an ill-savor'd sent Rebellion leaves behind it.*

Monsieur for not obtaining *Monmorencys* pardon, though he had prevayl'd for the Dukes of *Elbauf*, and *Bellegarde*, grew again discontented, and forsakes *France*; The Cardinall of *Richelieu* had at this time a dangerous fit of sicknes, so that a great while the infirmities of his body would not give him leave to exercise the functions of his

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soule; A little after his convalescence, there was a chapter of the Knights of the Royall Order, the *Holy Spirit*, kept, wherein there were forty nine more created; and the honor was conferr'd chiefly upon them that had serv'd against them of the Religion.

The Duke of *Lorain* appearing more for the House of *Austria* then the *Sweds* in the German war, the King to quarrell with him, demanded homage for the Duchy of *Bar*; the Duke wai'd the performance of this ceremony, alledging that those homages which were pretended to be done by his Progenitors were but visits and complements, not any reall duties, there being no act upon record for them.

There happend another occasion of displeasure against the Duke in that the Princesse *Margaret* was married to *Monsieur* not only without the Kings consent, but expressly against his command; It being observ'd that Matches with that Family have bin fatall, and that *Lorain* milk have engendred but ill blood in France. So he arms mainly against the Duke, and being advanced as far as *Nancy* the Duke and the Cardinal had conference, but in the interim his sister the Princesse went in Pages apparell out of the Town, and got to *Brussels* to *Monsieur* her husband where the marriage, which was before but clandestin, was publicly consummated; The Duke did much complement with the King, sending him word, That if the gates of *Nancy* were not wide enough to let him in, he would pull down the walls, to make him entrance: The Duke had a safe conduct to come to the Kings Army to treat with the Cardinal, who prov'd too hard for him, in so much that he was forc'd to yeeld that the King should enter *Nancy*, or remain prisoner; This made him afterward tax both King and Cardinal with a contravention of their promises and faith. So *Nancy* was rendred for a time, and a French Garrison was plac'd there, in lieu of the old which consisted of 2300. foot, and 230. horse. After this the King re-establish'd the Archbishop of *Triers* in his estates, and so return'd triumphantly to *Paris*.

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This yeer the Duke of *Crequy* was sent Ambassadour to *Rome* in a most splendid equipage to prostrat at the Popes feet all the trophies got of them of the Religion; That Saint-like Lady the Archduchesse *Clara Eugenia Isabella d Austria*, Governesse of *Flanders* died about this time; and Monsieur understanding that the Infant Cardinal, the King of Spaines youngest brother, was to come thither to govern, he began to think of his return to France; besides the Spaniards began to have some sinister surmises of him, in regard he did not command a Bonfire to be made before his house in joy of the Battail at *Norlinghen*; so making semblance one morning to go a hauking he posted privarly to France (leaving his wife and mother behind) without bidding any farewell, or giving thanks for his entertainment all the while, which was so costly to *Spaine*; so the King and he were peec'd again now the fourth time.

The King having put the Duke of *Lorain* as it were in his shirt, by stripping him of all his Countrey, after a tough siege he took also *La*

Motte;

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Motte; His forces in Germany had also taken *Haguenaw* *Manheim* likewise, and *Philipsburg* were put into his hands: And because it was expenceful unto him to keep so many Garrisons in *Lorain*, he demolish'd divers Castles up and down the Countrey, whereby the Logic rule was made subservient to *Policy*, *Frustra fit per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora*.

France was in an extreme high and triumphant condition at this time; And being in a perfect tranquillity within doores, she fell upon the establishment of wholsome laws, therefore divers Edicts were publish'd; one for the reformation of *Abbeys*, another for suppressing the lux and superfluities in apparell; with an inhibition to wear gold and silver lace, and other gaudy trimmings: a third for regulating of Military Discipline, and the biliting of Soldiers: a fourth, that they of the Religion should entertain no strange Ministers. There was also a Royall *Botanicall* Garden made in *Paris*, for the culture of medicinall Plants, and other curiosities; Moreover there was a company of Marchants erected for *new France* in the Indies for the advancement of traffic. And *Paris* had her skirts enlarg'd, the *Twilleries*, and part of *Saint German* being brought within her inclosure.

We will finish this fifth Lustre with a remarkable passage that happen'd in *Italy*. *Gasper Galilei Galileo* a man exactly vers'd in the *Mathematiques*, of profound speculations and high reaches, having more then ordinary inspections into the motions of heavenly Bodies, (witness that rare Prospect of his) publish'd a Book intituled, *A Dialogue of the two Systems of the World, of Ptolomey and Copernicus*; Wherein (with the latter) he upholds that the Sun is the Centre of the world standing alwayes still, and that the Earth as the rest of her fellow Elements together with the Planets and fixed Stars, are in perpetuall motion: In the Convent of *Minerva*, *Galileo* recanted this opinion of the Suns repose, and the Earths motion, because it was oppos'd to holy Scripture, & so by consequence a heresie, yet because he had taught it his Disciples, his punishment was to be in prison during pleasure, his penance was, that for three yeers he should repeat the seven penitentiall Psalmes once every week: a milder sentence far then *Vigilius* the Bishop had about the times of the Primitive Church for maintaining there were *Antipodes*, for which he was condemn'd to die, that opinion being held then to be a monstrous Paradox, though our modern Navigators have long since evinc'd the truth of it: It hath bin alwayes the method of providence to impart knowledge to mankind by certain degrees, as we find it true commonly in our Mundan negotiations, that *posterior dies, est prioris Magister*; I could enlarge my self further upon this Theam were it pertinent to my main historical subject, but being not, I put a period to it, and to this fifth Lustre.

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the thirteenth.*

THis Lustre begins with sound of Drum and Trumpet more lowdly then any of the former, it begins with an open rupture of the peace 'twixt the two mighty Monarques of *France* and *Spain*: 'Tis true, there had bin formerly, ever since the beginning of the *German* wars, and those of *Italy* and the *Grisons* some clashings and counterbuffs between them, but it was in an Auxiliary collateral way, each of them (according to his severall interest) reaching his hand to his friend, and assisting his Confederat, and those which put themselves under their protection; but this yeer you shall find there will be public profess'd enmity by cry of Herald proclaim'd between the two Kings though brothers, each of them having one anothers sister in their beds for twenty yeers together.

The House of *Austria* had had an extraordinary good yeer of the last, for after the Battail of *Norlinghen*, which was the greatest victory he obtain'd (except that of *Prague* against the Prince *Palatine*) since the beginning of the *German* wars, he push'd on his good fortune and invaded the Territories of the Duke of *Wittemberg* and Marquis of *Baden* or *Durlas*; besides he sets upon the City of *Triers* and seizeth upon Her, with her Archbishop the *Elect*or, whom he carried away prisoner notwithstanding that he had put himself under the shadow of the *Flower-de-luce*: Add hereunto that by the advantage of yce he took the strong Tower of *Philipsburg*, where the *French* were put to the sword, and the *Germans* spar'd; The reduction of this place was of such consequence, that it help'd to secure *Heidelberg*, *Manheim*, *Worms*, *Spire*, *Frankfort*, *Mentz*, *Crusnack*, *Frankindal* and *Treves*, all which places were master'd by the *Imperialists*.

Though all these were properly the Emperours acts, yet *France* and *Holland* father'd them upon the Spaniard who contributed, that which is the greatest sinew of War, viz. *Money* to assist his *Uncle*. And being sensible of these mighty progresses and growth of the House of *Austria*, they thought it high time to look about them, so there came Commissioners extraordinary from *Holland* to *Paris*, and a Ligue defensive and offensive was struck between them to make a social conjunctive war in the Netherlands against the King of *Spain*; the most materiall Articles of which Ligue, for we are loth to stuff this History with formalities, were these.

1. The King of *France* shall have an Army of 25000. foot, and 5000. horse upon the frontiers of *France* towards the Netherlands in the convenientest place; And the States of the united Provinces shall have 20000. foot, and 8000. horse.

2. Of these two Armies one shall send the other 10000. foot, and 2000. horse as Auxiliaries in case the enemy shall succour any place which

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which either of them shall besiege, and if occasion require both Armies shall joyn in one body.

3. It is accorded that a Declaration be sent to all the Towns under the King of Spain in the *Netherlands*, to assure them that there shall be no Innovation introduced which may prejudice their priviledges, and that the exercise of Religion be left free.

4. That all other Princes and States who shall desire the protection of France and the united Provinces may enter into this Ligue, provided they take up armes against the Spaniard.

5. That if any Towns yeeld themselves of their own accord, it shall be lawful for them to mould themselves into the body of a particular State.

6. That there may be no difference in parting what shall be taken, it is agreed that France shall have all *Flanders* from the frontiers of France as far as *Blanquemberg* neer the *Sluce*: And the States shall have all the Maritim places beyond toward France as far as the River of *Swyn*: That *Artois* and *Hennault* as far as *Navar* inclusively shall be the Kings of France: And the States shall have *Hulst*, *Malines*, and *Brabant*, as far as *Brussells*.

7. That no places which shall be taken be troubled for matter of Religion, but that it be continued in the same state 'tis found.

8. That no Treaty for Truce or Peace be set a foot with the *Spaniard*, without the reciprocall consent of both parties.

9. That for a more regular way in proceeding, this Order shall be followed, to attempt first, two places allotted for the share of France, and then two of the shares of the States, which order shall be successively observed.

10. That if the King invade *Flanders*, the States with a diverting Army shall enter *Brabant*, and if the States are engag'd in *Brabant* the King shall have a diverting Army in *Artois* or *Hennault*.

11. That the King of Great Britain may enter into this Confederacy, to which effect there shall be Ambassadors employed unto him from both parties to know of him whether he will continue upon termes of *Neutrality*.

12. It is accorded further that both parties shall have fifteen men of War at Sea a peece of so many Tonns; and if any English ships desire to joyn with the said Fleet they shall have the precedence of them of the States.

13. If any Treaty be agreed unto for Peace or Treaty it shall be kept in the *Hague*, and no where els.

14. In regard of this Treaty the obligation shall cease to furnish the States yearly with two millions of Franks which was us'd to be sent them from France, &c.

These Articles being interchangeably sign'd and ratified in *Paris*; there issued a large public Declaration from the King to denounce war with Spain to this effect.

Lewis by the grace of God King of France and Navar, to all who shall
see

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see these present Letters, health. The great and sensible offences this Monarchy hath receiv'd divers times from that of Spain are so well known to all the world, that it is needles to renew their memory: We have a long time dissembled the hatred and naturall jealousy the Spaniards have against France, whereby they have alwayes stopp'd the course of Our prosperity by secret practises, oppress'd the Princes allied to this Crown, and sought to dismember the Kingdome; Therefore with those forces which God hath given Us We have resolv'd to prevent their further desseins upon Us, and rather to carry Our Armes within their Countrey, then expect theirs in Ours, &c. Then He goes on to enumerat the obligations that Spain had to France for making the last truce with the Hollander, which Spain had to so much need of at that time; the good Offices he had done the Emperour upon the beginning of the troubles in Germany; so he taxes him that the first recompence which France receiv'd was the occupation of the Valtolin from the Grisons the ancient Allies of France; he complains further that the Treaty at Moulson was not executed as it was intended; He speaks of sundry enterprises upon the Duke of Savoy while he was Confederat of France, of the violent oppression which the Duke of Mantova suffer'd; How the Duke of Lorain arm'd five times against France by the fuscitation of the King of Spain; How the said King Treated with the chief of them of the Religion to form a perpetuall body of Rebellion in the bowels of France at that time when he promis'd assistance against them; How his Ambassadors continually practis'd to sow division between them of the Royall Family; How he assisted with men and money those that made rents and factions in France; How to bring about his far fetch'd designes for the Western Monarchy, he made Flanders his Arcenal for Arms, not only to subdue them whom he had acknowledg'd free and sovereign, but to keep France in perpetuall jealousy of surprisals by a veteran Army; therefore he thought it more honorable to attain unto a sound secure Peace by the generous strength of an open war then let his subjects drop away by small numbers, and languish under a doubtfull and incertain Peace which must be conserv'd with 150000. men. Then he comes to speak of the outrage that was done to the Archbishop of Triers, and the jeering illufory answer which was return'd about his liberty; Then he speaks of his most deer great friends, Allies, and Confederats the States of the united Provinces with whom he had made a Ligue defensive and offensive, but with this Proviso, that what Towns or places whatsoever were taken, the Catholique Religion should not be damnified, but conserv'd still in the same condition; Then he makes his address to the Flemings that if within two moneths they cause the Spaniards to retire from their Towns and Provinces, they shall be joyn'd and united into a body of one free and independent State, with all rights of sovereignty: So he concludes with an Injunction to all his subjects to make war by sea and land, night and day against the King of Spain a declar'd Enemy to his Person and state; protesting before God and men that as he was reduc'd to the utmost extremity

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extremity to take up arms for his own defence, and for his Allies and friends, so his main end, and only aime was to procure an universall and well grounded peace throughout Christendom.

Before this Declaration was divulg'd a Herald of Arms was sent to *Brussels*, where he publicly pronounc'd war against the King of Spain in the Market place, and so in every Town at his return to France, and he pass'd to and fro without any outrage at all.

The King had five Royall Armies in motion this Sommer, the first in *Lorain* under the Duke of *Angoulesme*, & de la *Force*; the second under the Cardinal de la *Valette* in *Germany*, wherewith *Bernard Weyer* joyn'd: The third was under the Duke of *Crequy* in *Italy*, wherewith the *Savoyard* and *Parmafan* joyn'd: The fourth was under the Duke of *Rohan*, wherewith the *Venetians* and *Grisons* joyn'd to conserve the *Valtolin*: The fifth was under the Marshall *Chastillon* in *Picardy*.

The first did some exploits, against the Duke of *Lorain*, where *Thon de Wert*, *Colorado*, and the Baron of *Clinchant* took *Saint Mihel* and other places.

The second under de la *Valette* who had Coronell *Hebron* and divers Scots of his Army, and having taken *Binghen* and other places, he had a shrewd conflict with *Galas* neer *Boulac*, where a great many of French Nobles and Gentlemen were slain, so that this Army made not so good returns as the first.

The third under *Rohan* thrive well, he fortified many places in the *Valtolin*, and had a shrewd fight neer *Bormio*, defeated *Sarbellon*, and 3000. were slain upon the place.

The fourth under *Crequy* performed much in *Italy*, divers places were taken in the Countrey of *Alexandrin*, but laying a siege before *Valentia* he was forc'd to raise it.

The fifth under *Chastillon* had the best fortune of any, for being to joyn with the Prince of *Orenge* at *Maestricht*, he met in the way with Prince *Tomaso* at *Avein* neer *Namur*, where after a tough serious fight above 3000. of the enemies fell, 1500. men taken prisoners, 95. Colours, and 16. peeces of Ordnance. After this exploit the French Army march'd towards *Maestricht* through the Countrey of *Liege* where *Chastillon* met with the Prince of *Orenge* and *Bovillon*, there were high acclamations of joy at the conjunction of both Armies who came to the number specified in the Treaty, all effectif men: Add hereunto that there was a third Army of the Duke of *Bovillons*; In so much that there was never since the beginning of the *Belgique* war a greater and more numerous body of Military strength at one time, an Army able to gain an Empire, for it was compos'd of neer upon 70000. combatants whereof there were above 10000. horse; but their achievements and succes was not answerable to their power, for they took but two mean Towns *Tillemont* and *Diest* and the Castle of *Dormet*; the first was pittifully pillag'd, nor could the French soldiers be kept within any limits of awe but they did violat and plunder both

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both Churches and Convents, and committed many other strange outrages; The Armies then march'd as far as *Brussels*, and took prisoners out of the very suburbs, but it was held neither safe to sit down before the place, nor a thing feasible to take it; the *Cardinal Infante* being intrench'd not far off in a very advantagious post; therefore the Armies came before *Lovain*, where they presently began their batteries, the Marquis of *Varewne*s with divers French fell there and divers more; They of the Town made a furious sally upon the English quarters, wherein Sir *Charles Morgan* was hurt, and eighty more slain, but in a short space they were repell'd to the Town with a considerable losse; They made two brave sallies more upon *Chastillon*s quarters a little after; but the tenth day the siege was rais'd, and the Town quite cleer'd of so vast an Army; the reasons of the raising of this siege were, first, a great necessity of provision; the second the strength of the enemy, for *Piccolomini* was come to *Namur* with a fresh Army; lastly, the ignorance they had of the quality of the place in point of strength, and her neernes to the greatest Towns in *Brabant*, as *Antwerp*, *Brussels*, *Malines*, with other.

These huge Armies being retreated from before *Lovain*, the nimble *Crabats* did notably plague their reeres; and carried away good booties; *Diest* was also repris'd; and the French Army being before *Venlo* news came that the famous Sconce of *Schenk* was taken by the Spanish Garrison of *Gueldres*; as also that the Duke of *Saxe* the potentest Prince of Germany, and the Dictator of the Protestants had made his peace with the Emperour; besides that *Jean de Wert* had invaded, and extremely ravag'd *Lorain* up and down, which made *Chastillon* trusse up his baggage, and leave *Venlo* and think upon home-wards: Thus this formidable French Army melted away to a small number, nor could they who were left, know which way to return to France; so most of them were sent by Sea from *Flushing* and other places; neverthelesse had their retreat bin answerable to their first entrance into the Netherlands when *Chastillon* gain'd such a notable victory of Prince *Tomaso*, they had made a gallant Expedition of it; but it was observ'd that after their sacriledges at *Tillemont* the Wind blew alwaies in their faces, and nothing prosper'd with them.

Besides sundry good successes by Land, the Spaniard this year had some prosperous gales at Sea; for the Duke *Fernandin*, and the Marquis de *sancte Cruz* took from the French, with 22. Gallies and 5. Galeons, two Islands in the Mediterranean, call'd *Sancta Margarita*, and *Saint Honorat*; which much prejudic'd the Trade of *Provence*, and all maritime commerce to Italy.

70. Young *Oxenstern* the Chancelor of Swedens son came in a gay equippage Ambassador to France this year; he was treated with no common esteem, and at his departure the King took off his finger a rich Ring which he wore that day of purpose to give him; The said *Oxenstern* passing over to England upon the like employment, though his reception was altogether as good, and his present as valuable, yet he refus'd the latter.

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The maritim might, and navall power of France never appear'd more then this year; for the King being very sensible of the losse of his Islands neer *Provence* assemblēth all the great ships which could be found in the Ports of *Normandy*, *Britainy*, *Poiton*, and *Guyen* to the number of 59. vessels, wherein there were embark'd neer upon 6000. men, and they carie 400. peeces of Ordnance; the first rendezvous was at *Rochell*, the Count of *Harcour* was appointed *Generall*, and *Sourdis* the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* *Admirall*, they lanc'd out into the main, and coasting *Spain* without any rencounter they entered the Mediterranean; the Fleet of *Provence* was then also in a readines which consisted of 12. Gallies, of which Squadron the Bishop of *Nants* was Director in chief, who, with him of *Bourdeaux*, left his spirituall See, to try his fortunes on the salt Sea; he was embark'd in the gran Galeon of the Duke of *Guyse*, of 1200. Tonns; there was another Squadron also of the gallies of *France*, whereof the Count *Pont Courlay* was *Generall*, there was a short fight twixt them, and the Spanish Fleet neer the foresaid Islands, but no great hurt done, nor any thing perform'd to any purpose.

During these traverſes at Sea, there was notable doings by Land, for *Piccolomini* and *John de Wert*, enter'd and overwhelm'd *Picardy* like two impetuous torrents, and carried all before them, they ravag'd and plundered most lamentably the poore Pefans and Villages all along, they took *la Capelle*, nor could the strength the Count of *Soissons* had in that Province withstand them; the Prince of *Condé* was then beating the walls of *Dole*, but having long layn before the Town, and having spent much powder, and a considerable number of men before her, he was forc'd to raise the siege, to make head against those fearfull incursions the Imperialists made up and down *Picardy*; their Army consisted of divers Squadrons of *Germans*, *Polanders*, and *Crabats*; *Soissons* met with the *Pole*, and caus'd him to retire to *Luxemburg*; where he took breath, and afterwards came on more furiously then before, he took *Moniauban*, and three places more which he fir'd, and carried away men, women and children: Prince *Tomaso* was chief of these flying Armies which in all consisted of above 15000. horse, and so many foot; They took afterwards *Catelet*, and push'd on their march as far as the River of *Somme* where they seiz'd on *Bray*, and cross'd the River, took *Royé* with divers other places: being thus got into the very bowels of *Picardy* the *Crabats* had a brave time of it who subsist chiefly by pillage, they rob Churches, cloisters, Convents, Monasteries, and the Altars themselves, nor can the opinion of holines exempt any thing from rapine; a little after *Corby* rendred her self, and then a generall summons was publish'd in the King of *Spaines* name for all the Townes of *Picardy* to render themselves, and they should have good quarter.

This sudden inundation of so many forren people, and such monstrous incursions, struck an earthquake into the hearts of all men, and *Paris* her self trembled more then any place; many thousands of

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people had fled thither from *Champany, Brie, Picardy, high Normandy*, as also from the *Ile* of France it self for refuge, Nunns, Friers, and Priests left their Monasteries, Cels and Cloisters, panting with apprehensions of fears, and imminent dangers; Nay, the *Parisians* themselves thinking their Town not secure enough fled away in multitudes towards the *Loire*.

This gave a generall alarm to the whole Kingdom, and *Paris* quak'd more then any place, in so much that she began to fortifie apace, the Burgeses by the *Provosts* command, and the Schollers by the *Rectors*, put themselves in armes: there were extraordinary contributions made, and 15000. men suddenly rais'd to go towards *Picardy*: *Monsieur* was appointed Generall, who in his march encreas'd daily more and more in great numbers, to make head against this formidable Invasion, or rather Irruption.

The common people being thus startled and scared, one might hear up and down both in Town and Countrey whole volleys of curses discharg'd upon *Richelieu*, who was cryed up to be the source of all these evils, because they conceiv'd 'twas by his counsell the King had denounc'd open war against the Spaniard the yeer before; but the strong reflex of Royall favor, and the former good successes he had, took away much of the gaul against him.

The Royall Army under *Monsieur*, who was accompagnied with the flower of all the Nobility of France, and was now neer upon forty thousand Combatants, being advanc'd far into *Picardy*, the first exploit he perform'd was the reprisall of *Royé* by siege, then he took *Bretevil*; but a little before *John de Wert* had given a smart blow to the Count of *Esfeld* who had a Brigade of *Germans*, & a good number of French horse commanded by *Gassion* for the Kings service. The Royall Army came before *Corbie* at last, where a Leager was planted seven Leagues compasse, and the Town held them good play for divers moneths, whence the Spaniards made sundry notable sallies.

The Imperiall Army under *Galas* was now got into *Burgundy*, where he took *Mirebeau*, and sundry other places which he pillag'd and burnt; in the interim the Duke of *Lorain* who commanded one of the flying Armies had lai'd siege before Saint *John de Lone*, and *Galas* recruited him with men, and ammunition, but the place being relieved, and it being now neere the dead of Winter, *Galas* gave out he had order to return to *Germany* which he did, and so the Duke of *Lorain* rays'd his siege, and sent divers complaints to the Emperor against *Galas* his Generall, but they came to nothing.

Thus that huge deluge ceas'd in France, which did such a world of mischief that the Goths, Vandalls, or Saracens never did the like for the time, nor was this the sole disaster that befell France this yeer, for the Viceroy of *Pampelona* took Saint *John de Lux* tother side the Kingdom; besides *Mentz, Coblens*, and *Hanaw* were rendred to the Imperialists, in all which much of the Garrisons were French: I will conclude this yeer with the public baptism of *Madamoiselle, Monsieur* daughter,

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daughter, being nine yeers and three moneths old, which ceremony was solemniz'd in the *Louure*, the Queen of France, and her Cardinal were her godmother and godfather, and she was named *Anne Marie*.

This yeer a more propitious Planet cast an influence upon *France*, then fell upon her in the former, as will appear by the succes of things; We will begin with the reprisall of the Isles of *Lerins*, call'd *Saint Margaret* and *Saint Honorat*: some of the Provenfall Gentlemen shew'd much Passion for the honor of their Countrey to which those Islands belong'd, by divers proofs of valeur, and their names were enroul'd in a public instrument which stands upon record to posterity in the Court of Parlement; there were mighty preparatives made for the said Expedition, and sundry persons of quality parted with their blood, and some with their lives in the quarrell; but whether the benefit did countervail the vast charge of recovering two or three small rocks it was much question'd, yet the work was done, and it left behind it an astonishment of the navall power of France.

The King had three Land Armies this Spring towards the Frontiers of the *Netherlands*; the first towards *Cambray* commanded by the Duke of *la Valette*; the second towards *Artois* whereof *Millerauy* was chief; the third under *Chastillon* upon the Frontiers of *Champany* and *Luxemburg*: The first took two or three Castles by surprize, and then sat before *Landrecy*, which after a stubborn siege was yeilded at last to *De la Valette*, the exploit was reputed the greater, because in times pass'd *Charles* the Emperour had lain before *Landrecy* with thirty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse six moneths together, and then was forc'd to steale away in the night from before the place; After this the Duke of *Candale* took *Beaumont*; *la Capelle* was also rendred after the brunt of a short siege. But a hotter siege and soyle calls me now to the *Pyreney* Hills, where the Spaniards had entrench'd themselves strongly before *Leucate* a Frontier town twixt *Languedoc* and *Cataloma* with a resolution to carry it: The Duke of *Haluin* was employ'd upon this service, assisted by the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*; Of the Spaniards the Count of *Serbellon* an Italian and a great Captain was Commander in chief; there happen'd many bloody, and exceeding hot skirmiges betwixt the two Nations, but at last the Spaniard was forc'd to quit his trenches and leave thirty two great Guns of all sorts behind him, with the losse of three thousand men; Amongst the dead bodies some women were found habited like men, which being shew'd the Spaniards that were taken prisoners, and ask'd what women they were, they answer'd, *Those poltrons that fled away were women, not these*; with this agrees a *Rodomontado* a Captain left upon a wall, *O Frenchmen, if you had comported your selfs in this encounter as you have us'd to do; and if we had shew'd our selfs such men as the world cries us up to be; your actions had bin ours, and ours yours*. The Spaniards which were taken prisoners would salute the French Gentlemen by the title of *Seniores Lutheranos*, thinking

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that to be a complement would please them: *Serbellon* made three assaults upon the Town, the two first with iron Bullets, the last with gold Pistols, viz. the proffer of fifty thousand crowns to the Governour for a rendition, but it took not.

The King was so well pleas'd with this service that he conferr'd honors upon divers of the Commanders, and especially upon the *Generall*, to whom he writ this following Letter to be Marshall of France.

To my Cosen the Duke of Halluin, Marshall of Schomberg.

My Cosen, you have known how to serve me so well with your sword, that I send you a Trunchcon; as well for a marke of the contentment which I have receiv'd, as also that hereafter you may make choice of your armes, if my enemies present themselves in any place where you may make them again know your valour; I never bestow'd grace with a better heart, then I do this, to perpetuat in your person the name of Marshall of Schomberg, which having bin acceptable to me in the person of the father, will be no lesse in that of the son: So I pray God, my Cosen, that he hold you in his blessed guard.

Lewis.

Questionles this was a peece of service of high merit, and of mighty consequence to France, for had the Spaniard nestled in *Leucato* a strong tenable place, they had had a key to enter presently into *Languedoc* at pleasure: the said young Duke of *Halluin* stirr'd himself notably, and going in the front of his Troups alwayes with his naked sword had receiv'd divers hurts; nor did the Spaniards who had above twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, shew themselves cowards, for notwithstanding the Town pelted them on the one side, and the Royall Army on the other which was greater in number then they, yet they fallied out of their Trenches, and encountred them five severall times.

This siege of *Leucato* was contemporary with that of *Breda* by the Hollanders this year, before which the Prince of *Orenge* lay so close and secure, that as the Cardinal *Infante* could not hinder his first intrenchment, so he could not afterwards oblige him to fight; but having twenty thousand foot, and six thousand horse, he struck into *Guedres* and took *Venlo* and *Ruremond*: So *Breda* was given for lost, and after three moneths siege she yeilded upon the same terms that *Spinola* had given twelve yeers before; though he lay five times longer before the Town: The Prince of *Orenge* made his entrance the ninth of *September* at the same gate which *Marquis Spinola* had erected with this memorable Inscription in huge golden Characters.

Philippo

*Philippo quarto Regnante,
Clara Isabella Eugenia gubernante,
Ambrosio Spinola obsidente,
Quatuor Regibus contra-sonantibus,
Breda capta fuit, Id.*

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This yeer *Fortune* began to frown first upon the Spaniard, and where she once fixeth her frowns she doth not suddenly remove them, but wrinckles her forehead more and more, as will appear in the subsequent passages.

We will conclude this yeer with the conversion of *Francis Cupif* a Doctor of *Sorbon* to the Reform'd Religion; whereupon the Faculty of Theologie pronounc'd this rigid Decree against him.

It is very properly, and with great reason that the Apostle rankes Heresies amongst crimes, and carnall sins, because we often perceive, that by a secret judgement of God, those use to fall, and tumble into them, who swelling with the vanity and confidence of their own sense, or walking according to the flesh, suffer not themselves to be led by the Spirit of God, nor beleeve that they are tied to any rule, but they tast nothing but what pleaseth man as he is a sensitive Animal: Whereof *Francis Cupif* of Angers whom the Sacred Faculty had nourish'd before in her bosom, and at last unhappily receiv'd into the number of her Doctors, to the great scandall of all good men, and the applause of the enemies of the Crosse of Christ, hath lately given a horrid, and most deplorable example. For according to the honour that was conferr'd upon him in our Schoole, not minding the law he had receiv'd from so good a mother, which might have drawn down upon his head all graces from God and men, and having quite forgot the oath which he had made so oft, and whereunto according to ancient institution all new graduats, and all such who are promoted to the degree of Doctorships are solemnly oblig'd; He is miserably fallen from the holy Catholic Church, whereby he hath drawn upon himself the losse of his soule before God, shame and infamy before men, and malediction from all parts; This imprudent son is become the grief and sadness of his Mother, then, when by a perfidious prevarication abjuring the true Doctrin, he hath most impudently turn'd Heretic, giving up his name to impiety and falshood. But whence can it proceed, that he should so easily fall into so fearfull a precipice, but from the naturall presumption of his own judgement, and from the ardor of unbridled pleasure, wherewith they that weerly knew him perceiv'd that he incessantly burnt? Whence it comes to passe that being blinded, and walking continually according to his own covetousnesse, having shaken off the sweet and light yoke of *Iesus Christ*, he is become a voluntary slave to Heresie, which is the height of all sins. It being therefore true, that, as the Christian Emperours said, Whatsoever is attempted against Divine Religion becomes injurious to all, with greater reason the Sacred Faculty of Theologie hath beleev'd that the wrong which is done *Iesus Christ*, and to the Catholic faith by this degenerat child, did concern her so far as to pronounce a grave censura according to the atrocity of
the

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the crime, against such a notorious infamy, and to separat him totally from Her, and her nursery, though it be nothing at all to be fear'd that such Bastard Plants will take any deep roots. Cursed be thou degenerat Child, which goest on after thine own counsell, not according to mine, which warpest a web, but not by my direction, which dost adde sin to sin, which goest down to Egypt, and to the Synagogue of Satan, and consultest not with me, nor remembrest my precepts; Thou hast rejected my discipline, hoping for succour in the help of Calvin and his followers, and hast confidence in the shadow of Egypt, that is to say, in the conventicle of Hcretiques; but this imaginary strength shall become thy confusion, and the confidence of this shadow, which thou followest in despising the body of the Orthodoxal Church, shall turn to thy shame. So an Anathema was pronounc'd, and publiquely fix'd up against him.

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Duke Bernard Weymar descended of the eldest House of Saxony whose Ancester was outed of that great Dutchy, for deserting Rome by Charles the Emperour, had besides his Germanes a considerable Army of French upon the Kings pay, who did notable feats up and down; he was now lay'd down before Rhinsfield one of the Forest Towns (having taken two of them before) belonging to the House of Austria, he had after two stormings made a breach in the walls, when John de Wert, the Duke of Savelli, and other choice men appear'd unexpectedly with nine Regiments of horse, and four thousand foot to raise the siege; Generall Sperheucher was also there, and two companies of Crabats: There happen'd two furious fights betwixt them, in the first de Wert had the better by taking four Canons, and three Cornets of horse, the Duke of Rohan was in the field as a Volontier being newly come from his employment in the Valtolin, his horse was kill'd under him, and he himself wounded in two or three places; the siege of Rhinsfield was rais'd for the time, but Bernard Weymar fought out de Wert the next day, and having rallied all his forces and put himself in battalia, there was a gallant though bloody fight, and victory flutter'd a great while with doubtfull wings, but at last John de Wert himself, Duke Savelli, Sperheucher, Major Generall Enkenfort, with all the chief Commanders were taken prisoners; amongst whom John de Wert, and Enkenfort were carried prisoners to France, and committed to Bois de Vincennes. So Duke Bernard Weymar took Rhinsfield by a second siege presently after.

The Duke of Rohan being carried with his wounds about him to Swisserland, died of them within a little time, and his body was carried in great pomp to Geneva where he was buried: a Duke of high descent being prime Prince of the blood of the Kingdom of Navar, whereupon it was said of him, Rohan ie suis, Roy ie ne puis, Prince, ie dedagne. Rhoan I am, King I cannot be, Prince, I disdain it. He was excellently vers'd both in the Theory, and Praetic part of War, and other politicall knowledge, as appears by his works, and by his exploits in the Valtolin and els where; Some there are who brand him to have bin a Pensioner to Spain receiving fourteen thousand crowns and

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and his Brother *Soubize* eight thousand from that King for divers yeers, to puzzle France with intestin broyles: He died without male issue, and so that bloud-royal Duchy of *Navar* extinguisht.

There were hot doings now in *Italy*, one of the grounds of the quarrell was 'twixt the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Parma*; The *Spaniard* alledg'd that by capitulations with the former Dukes, he was upon occasion of war to have the Town of *Placentia* for his use to put men and ammunition in during the war; The Duke disavowed any such obligation, and was abetted by *France* and *Savoy* in the quarrell: *Victor Amadée* Duke of *Savoy* who had married the second daughter of France being dead the yeer before, and the Count of *Verüe* his Generall, the Duke of *Crequy* came to be Commander in chief, and going to releve *Breme* which the Marquis of *Leganez* Governor of *Milan* had closely begirt, *Crequy* as he was surveying the enemies trench, and vaunting that he would convey succour to the Town over the *Spaniards mustachos*, he was cut in the middle by a Cannon bullet, and so shattered to peeces, and the crosse he wore upon his brest was shot into his flesh, so *Breme* rendred her self. This Marshall *Crequy* was a brave man both for command and personall valour, having fairly kill'd in duel one of the bastard sons of *Savoy* in sight of two Armies some years before; there was a Latin Epitaph written upon him, which in respect of the pertinent apposit words, and the gallantry of the style I think worthy to have room in this story, for I have not met with a better.

D. Caroli de Crequy Elogium
funebre.

AD sonum ruinae, cujus fragor adhuc
Europam occupat,
Tormento bellico Crequius occubuit,
Minori telo non poterat;
Eminus Mors peremit, saepe frustra
E propinquo tentaverat;
Priori disposure pulveris nubem excitavit,
Ut secundas insidias tegetet;
Alterum globum impexit in terram
Vel attingere verita,
Vel antequam attingeret venerata;
Abrumptum est corpus in membra, jacere
Eodem in loco tanta ruina non poterat;
Quod colligi potuit, hic jacet, magnitudo
Cladis ubique est:
Nec incautum mors oppressit, ea die
AEternitati studuerat,
Ante horam animum sacramentis præpararat,
Ut præstaret æternum, dum facit divinum;

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Horam reliquam non subtraxit aternitati,
 Dum impendit Regi :
 Appensam è collo crucem fatalis globus
 Impresit cordi,
 Ut moreretur in vulneribus propriis,
 Et cum vulneribus Christi.
 Sensit cor admotum Deum, amavit & vixit :
 Emendavit amores humanos hic amor ultimus :
 Continuatus est aternitati, ne eum tempus corrumpere,
 Reperiri ultra in terris cor cælo dignum non potuit,
 Due res sursum extulerant, Crux quam attigit, Amor quo arsit.
 Postquam attigerat Deum tegi humo non debuit,
 Neque hospes aternitatem ingressus est, ad
 quam tot eleemosynas pramiserat,
 Ut festivè beneficus esset, pramittere se aiebat
 ad cælum divitias, ne illic pauper esset ;
 Nullibi securius latere Opes, quam ubi Deus,
 Et felicitas latet.
 Abi Viator, nec ruinam desle quâ Crequius
 in aternitatem cecidit ;
 Eâ hora extinctus est, quæ illi ad
 immortalitatem optanda fuit.
 Redi Viator, & discite qualem vitam AEternitas
 inchoavit, diem clausit,
 Vix unquam tot lauros fulmen messuerat, si
 laurus fulmen timeret,
 Centum Heroum nepos elogia omnium sua fecit,
 Magnanimus, Audax, sapiens, dignus
 gentilitiis meritis et suis,
 Servabat ei virtus hæc cognomina, nisi
 Majores præripuissent,
 prælusit tamen Nepoti, dum ea Avis imponeret ;
 Iis titulis Ducem, Parem et Marescallum addidit,
 additurus Conestabilem,
 Nisi hæc ætas tot Conestabiles haberet,
 quot Marescallos habet.
 Conestabili de Ledignieres in Generum datus est,
 Ut Heroum filius, Gallici Martis alumnus esset ;
 Sub eo Magistro maturè vincere cæpit, ut diu vinceret,
 Ea ætate militia Magister, qua vix alii sunt Tyrones :
 Nulla est Gallie Provincia ubi non vicerit hostes Regios,
 Nulla occasio in qua non vicerit suos,
 Renovavit gentilitii vexilli prærogativam,
 dum renovavit victoriam
 Iterum hoc clamore Gallico dignus
 A Crequy, Crequy le gran Baron nul ne s'y frotte.

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Tot ultra Alpes victorias retulit, ut Galliam
Cisalpinam restaurare potuerit,
Nisi Gallia Italiam sociam habere mallet,
quàm subditam;
Subaudiam, & Subalpinos sic expugnavit hostis,
ut Verruca una non steterit,
Si defendit Amicus, ut Verruca una non perierit,
Nec dubium quin servasset Bremam qui Verrucam servaverat,
Nisi hostis absentem peremisset, ne presentem fugeret:
Nec tenacior fuit Regia fidei, quam Divina,
Utramque obsignavit suo sanguine, ut testatam
faceret, dum facit purpuream,
Inflictam ab Hæresi plagam medio in vultu
ostentabat ut gemmam,
Nec insignior Gallica fidei clientaris Legatus
ire Romam potuit,
Quàm qui insignia Fidei in oculis gerebat,
Tacente lingua loqui hæc plaga potuit;
Qualis esset fides Gallica,
Cujus Rex Apostolus, Marescalli Martyres essent.
Nec siluit lingua Crequii, cujus urbanitas
Urbano sic placuit,
Ut in eo amaverit Palladem, et agnoverit Martem,
Romanum patrocinium sic optavit Gallia,
ut Gallicum obtulerit Rome:
Nec silebit unquam hæc lingua cui Fama pro voce erit,
Continuabit laudes lituo, quas Mors intonare cæpit tubo bellico,
Erravit Mors in Crequio, laudavit dum peremit;
Inchoavit Elogium quod Fama absolvet, et AÆternitas canet.
Nec unquam exarescet Arbor Crequia, cujus
tot rami in posteris virent,
Videbit finem Gallia, quæ initium vidit,
Immortalis futura si tales semper nascantur surculi.
Abi viator, & ut mortem fallas,
Incipe immortalis esse, dum moreris.

Generall Crequy being thus crack'd by a Cannon, the Spaniard took Breme, besieges Verselli, which notwithstanding it was once succour'd by the French was rendred him upon the same termes that Don Pedro de Toledo had given the very same moneth when she was taken in the yeer 1625.

France had better fortune this yeer by repelling the invading forces of Spain, then by entering her confines another way for revenge: We made mention a little before how bravely Lencato was preserv'd, and to cry quittance with the Spaniard, the Prince of Condé had a vast high Commission to be the Kings Lieutenant General in the Provinces of Guyen, Languedoc, Navar, Bern, and Foix, with plenary

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power to command all the *Gentry*, and make whom he would to mount a horseback for the war; as also the *Cominalty*, to forme the body of an Army to invade the territories of *Spain*; so he pitch'd upon *Fontarabia*; he took *Iroon*, and *Ouyarson*, *Berha*, with other small places of advenues in the way, and so he sat before the Town where the Pioner put presently spade in earth for a circumvallation.

The Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* came with a mighty Fleet by Sea to second this enterprize, and the siege having lasted above threescore dayes, he offer'd with his rondaches, and by an assault Seaward to carry the Town; Hereupon a Counsell of War was call'd where the Duke de la Valette, who was Lieutenant General to the Prince of Condé, spook very gallantly that he and the Marshall de la Force had bin the chiefeft Actors in that achievment thitherto, that he had made a breach in the walls, after the springing of two mines; and done other things towards the straightning of the place, and it was not consonant to reason, or agreeable to the law of War and honor, that another, now that the work was almost brought to perfection, should have the glory of their dangers, sufferings, and labours; This clash 'twixt the Archbishop, and the Duke de la Valette, to whom Condé adher'd prov'd to be the ruine of this great Expedition; for while they were debating the businesse after the breach was made for a generall assault, the Spaniards came tumbling down the Hills and appeared to be more numerous far then they really were, so after a great slaughter on both sides, but more of the French whereof divers were thrust into the Sea, the siege was rais'd; and one may say, *The Town was lost, for not offering to take it*; if they had presently pourfued the breach. Amongst divers errors which were committed in this action, besides the weaknesse of their entrenchments, two were the quitting of *Passage*, without which the enemies would not have bin able to draw provision for their subsistence from Saint *Sebastian*; then the not erecting of a work upon the mountain of *Gadaloupe* which was neer the Town, and whence the Spaniard descended first; The French Army retyring to the frontiers staid some dayes at *Iroon*, expecting the enemy should pursue them, which he did not; whereby they infer'd that he was not so strong as they took him to be, and so he was willing to make them a bridge of sylver; thus this Invasion came to nothing, which made the Spaniard geer them afterwards, saying, They had in this attempt discover'd the true nature of the French, *viz. to enter like thunder, and vanish like smoak*. De la Valette being come to *Bourdeaux* to the old Duke his Father, after he had receiv'd relation how matters had gone, and what traverses there pass'd 'twixt him, and Condé and the Archbishop, advis'd him to get away as soon as he could to England, which he did; and 'twas time for him, for afterwards his Proces was fram'd in *Paris*, and he was executed in *Effigie*; so by this act of Justice the publique dishonour which seem'd to reflect upon France in generall, was restrain'd to his person; Nor is it a new thing to sacrifice Commanders to such uses: Besides the Duke of

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Espernon being now an hundred yeers of age and odd moneths, and having continued above forty yeers Governour of *Gascony* was outed of his Office, and commanded to retire to *Plasac*; where he died some moneths after, but before his death he had these severall disasters befall him within the revolution of one yeer; his eldest son the Duke of *Candale* fell in *Italy*, the Cardinall his brother died in *Savoy*, his third son was in banishment in England, and he himself dismiss'd of all command, and depriv'd of this life.

The judgements of men were very discrepant touching the carriage of the busines of *Fontarabia*, the major part imputed the fault to the Prince of *Condé* and the Archbishop who was a creature of the Cardinals; For the first, he was content his son the Duke of *Anguien* should marry the Cardinals Neece a little after, which was done, as some gave out, of purpose for preventing of being question'd, and so clap'd in the Bastile; For the second, there was alwayes ill blood 'twixt him and the Duke of *Espernon*; A Gentleman related unto me one facetious passage that happen'd 'twixt them: The Archbishop was to go upon an Expedition to Sea, and the Duke giving him a visit at *Bordeaux*, the Archbishop sent two Gentlemen to attend him, and to desire him to entertain himself a little for he was dispatching some Commanders and Officers that were to go instantly to Sea; The Duke (for a little pot is soon heated) took this in disdain (as he had reason being Governour in chief of the Countrey) and went suddenly away to his House *Cadillac* five leagues above *Bordeaux*; The next morning the Archbishop went to pay him his visit, and the Duke being told he was there, he sent two of his Gentlemen to desire his Reverence to have patience a while, in regard he was newly entred into a Chapter of *Saint Augustines De Civitate Dei*, and he would waite upon him as soon as he had done.

The King besides this under *Condé*, had divers other Armies abroad about this time. One in *Picardy* under *Chastillon*, who pass'd the *Some* and entering *Arthois*, took all the Advvenues towards *Saint Omer*, (old *Hesdin* having bin pillag'd and burnt before) and at last fate before the place; two thousand soldiers, and nine hundred peasants were perpetually at work for a circumvallation; Marshall *de la Force* came with a considerable Army to joyn with *Chastillon*, but a little before Prince *Tomaso* had defeated two French Regiments, and *Piccolomini* came afterwards to second him; so there were very hot services perform'd on both sides, at last the Spaniards having reliev'd the Town by taking the Fort of *Bac*, by which advantage they might cast in what strength they would, the French forsook their works, and so rais'd a costly siege; and march'd towards *Renti* which they took not without sweat and blood, and after that *Carelet*, the one was quite demolish'd, the other better fortified.

The Duke of *Longueville* was now for the King in the *Franche Conté*, where there happen'd divers encounters 'twixt the Duke of *Lorain* and him, and many places taken and succour'd by both parties.

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11. To these land Exploits we will add a sea combat which was fought before *Gattary* this year 'twixt the Spanisli Galeons, and the French Fleet commanded by the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, where divers of the Spanisli Galeons were taken, as also another fight 'twixt the Gallies of *Marseilles*, and those of *Spain* near *Genoa*; in both which *Neptun* threw his trident in favour of France.

Prince *Casimir* the King of Polands brother passing to Spain to be Viceroy of *Portugall*, was stop'd about *Marseilles*, and made prisoner; because he went disguis'd, as also because he had rais'd troupes of *Crabats* for the service of the king of *Spain*. There came also to *Paris*, *Zaga Christos* the youngest son of *Jacob* Emperour of *Aethiopia* or the *Habissins*, whose hard fate after a long civill War was to be kill'd in the Plaines of *Guera*, by one *Susneos* a Rebelle, who rendred himself afterwards Emperour. *Jacobs* three sons were forc'd to fly, and this being the youngest after many hazardous wandrings, and accidents arriv'd at last in *Italy*, and thence he came to *Paris* where he was entertain'd in the quality of a Prince.

29 France was at a high cumble of felicity at this time, and to augment it the more, the Queen was brought to bed of a Prince who made the seventeenth *Dauphin* of France since the first, she had a speedy delivery at *Saint Germain de lay* the fifth of *September*, the same moneth his father was born, whither divers reliques had been brought her, amongst others our Ladies girdle of *Puy*, which she wore during her throngs. The King was at dinner when newes was brought him, and so he went suddenly to the Queens chamber where amongst the Ladies he found *Monsieur* his brother, and he had good reason to be there to see what was brought into the world.

This was one of the rarest passages, of this kind, that ever happen'd in France, or any other part of the world, it being little lesse then a miracle, that a young King and Queen should bed so long together and not have any issue till the twenty third yeer of their cohabitation and concumbence, for so long was this *Dauphin* a getting.

One may easily imagine what triumphings and publique acclamations of joy were up and down France for this so long expected Royal Off-spring; nor was this gladnes bounded there but it dispers'd it self up and down all places of Christendom (that were friends to France) and struck a kind of wonderment into the world. In *Rome* there were divers inventions, and curiosities found out to expresse a congratulation. --- Before the French Ambassadors Palace (who was then the Marshall *De Estrée*) there was a triumphant Obelisk with the armes of France and this ostentous Inscription underneath.

Ludovici XIII.

Christianissimi Galliarum et Navarræ Regi,

Qui

Pullulantem per avita regna Hereticam Hydram,

Petulantem in Orbe Christiano novum Geryonem

Herculeus

*Herculea Clava compressit, summiq; bores
Aras per impietatem everfas,
Principes per tyrannidem oppressos,
Armata pietate restituit
Æquissimi Herois Justitiæ debito.*

Delphino.

*Imper aurea Lilia nascenti,
Inter paternos lauros vagienti,
Futuro futurorum monstrorum Alcidi,
In afflictorum subsidium,
In Tyrannorum excidium,
In Liliorum æternum germen,
In Ecclesie invictum column,
Ecce in terris stupenda ratione demisso,
Plausus, Acclamationes, Trophæa
Futurae Gloriæ argumenta, præsentis latitiæ Monumenta
Attollit, adjungit, erigit,
Franciscus Hannibal Estræus &c.*

For publique arguments of joy Prisoners, and Gallislaves were releas'd, two were ennobled in every Generalty throughout the Kingdom, besides, foure Masters were created in every Trade throughout France, with divers other priviledges afforded them of Paris.

This yeer 1638. was fruitfull for Royall Princes elf-where, for, besides the French *Dauphin*, the King of Spain had a daughter, and the Emperour had a son borne within the compas of it: The siege before *Brisac*, whereof we spake before, grew more and more stubborn, in so much that the Town began now to think of making her last Will and Testament, and so bequeath'd her self into the hands of *Bernard Weymar*, who besides *Dutch*, *English*, *Sweds*, and *Scotch* had an Army of 10000. French under his command; The said *Weymar* pretended a propriety to the place, otherwise after so obstinat an opposition, and slaughter of his men he had given no quarter; There were 135. Peeeces taken in the Town and Castle, with very much Treasure; After she was taken there happend an ilfavor'd travers twixt the Duke and the King, who would have have put a French Governour into the Town; it went so far that the French Army made towards the Duke and his *Germans* with others who discharg'd upon them, and divers were kill'd on both sides; but the French fury was appeas'd, and matters were suddenly aton'd; so a mix'd Garrison was put into the Town, and Duke *Bernard* plac'd the Governor; This was one of the straightest sieges that happen'd since the German war, for people were reduc'd to that extremity that they began to feed upon nefandous meats; Duke *Bernard Weymar* made it his best retreat, and chieftest Randevow afterwards, but he enjoyed it not long, for a few moneths after he fell sick of the Purples (some say the Plague) and

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so left the society of mortals; so that now the French have the chief sway, a mighty advantage, for the situation of this Town is such that France may say she hath now a key to enter Germany that way at pleasure, as she hath *Pignerol* for Italy. Duke *Weymar* being dead the Imperialists made this Epitaph upon him.

*Here lies He who preferr'd French before Germans, War
before Peace, a King before an Emperour, and Strangers
before his own Countreymen.*

This yeer France had also divers irons in the fire which she did so beat that the sparkles flew a great way abroad and did much mischief: *Hesdin* was closely besieg'd, so that when the Infante *Cardinal* came to relieve her she was pass'd cure; The King himself advanc'd as far as *Abbeville* in Person, and thence to his Army before *Hesdin*, which struck a greater terror into the Town, and made her come sooner to a Composition, which she obtain'd upon Honorable termes; the King himself entred, and having secur'd all things he return'd to *Paris* in triumph. Yet he had some water thrown into his wine before *Theonville* in *Luxemburg*, from before which, his Army was beaten by *Piccolomini* and *Bec*, with a great slaughter.

The glasse of the *Ligue* being now almost run out, it was thought fit to turn it and make it last foure yeers longer 'twixt France and Him with other German Confederats, which was negotiated at *Colmar*, where the French Ambassador thrust in a new Epitaph into the Treaty to aggrandize his Master, viz. *Præpotens*. Whereupon *Bernard Weymer* being dead the Duke of *Longueville* was made Generall of all the French forces in Germany.

There was a lowd tumult happend in Low *Normandy* this yeer amongst the Populasse, for new impositions that were daily thrust upon them; the Insurrection crept up to High *Normandy*, and to *Roven* her self, nor did the Parlement which is there alwayes sedentary much labour to suppress it; but divers Gentlemen and persons of the best ranke did seem to countenance it; In so much that Colonel *Gassion* was forc'd to come from *Picardy* with a considerable Army of horse and foot for the suppression thereof; so he enterd the Province, where his soldiers did much mischief upon the people, and coming to *Roven* the gates flew open to him without resistance; so the King sent thither his Chancellor, who caus'd all the Citizens to be disarm'd, the chiefeft instruments of the Mutiny to be imprison'd, their Proces form'd, wherby many of them were executed, amongst others, the ringleader of the populas who was a man of mean condition who alledg'd himself to be mad, but that subterfuge would not serve his turn; besides, he annull'd the Parlement and amerc'd the Town in one hundred thousand Franks, which was paid accordingly; and the Gentry that had a hand in this popular Insurrection pay'd fifty thousand Franks more: but a little after, the Court of Parlement was re-established

established upon the extraordinary humble submissions of the Town, the like punishment was inflicted upon *Caen*, so this dangerous solle-
vation was quash'd by a high hand of Royall power, which this City
had felt some 3. yeers before; for the King having thought to borrow
400000. crowns of her, she excus'd her self, thereupon the King sent
a band of soldiers which for eight dayes together, kept there upon
the Towns charge, and so the money was made up. And so I put a
period to the sixth *Lustre*.

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1639.

*The seventh and last Lustre of the
Life of Lewis the thirteenth.*

WE must make an Apologie for this *Lustre*, for it hath not the
full quinquennial number, and so cannot extend to the true
length of a *Lustre* which is five yeers; nay, it hath scarce fifty Moones,
which some held (though erroneously) to be enough, whereof to
compose a *Lustre*: the reason is, that that great Monark whose reign
we thus divide, was cut off from amongst mortals, which will enforce
us accordingly to cut off the thread of our story.

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1640.

In *Brisac* and other parts of *Alsacia* there were some incongruities,
and clouds of diffidence hung between the *Germans* and the *French*;
The young Prince *Palatine* was going thither through France dis-
guis'd, hoping to have better fortune that way, then he had in *West-*
phalia not long before where Prince *Robert* his brother was taken pri-
soner and carried to *Vienna*, with the Lord *Craven*; He was furnish'd
from *England* with credit for considerable sums of money at *Basile*,
but being advanc'd a good way beyond *Paris* in his journey, he was
discover'd, restrain'd a while at *Moulins*, and then sent for to *Paris*,
whence he was committed to *Bois de Vinienes*. The French fear'd
that he might puzzle their proceedings in *Brisac*, and that being a
German Prince and supported by his Majesty of Great Britain the
Town would choose him for Governor: upon these apprehensions
he was a while kept prisoner; but afterwards, by the intercession of
the Queen of *England* chiefly (as his brother was releas'd by good
offices the Emperesse did who to this day doth much respect the *Eng-*
lish Nation) he was freed and receiv'd very Princely entertainment
afterwards; At his departure the King gave him a very obliging
farewell, by telling him, *That whereas it pleased God and Nature to place*
him to be Umpire of this part of the World, he would not suffer him to be
oppressed by any, but he would endeavour, to reinvest him at last in his own
Territories, assuring him that no peace should be concluded 'twixt him and
the House of Austria, unlesse he were included.

Fortune had frown'd now a good while upon *Spain*, but this yeer,
she

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she bended her brows, and wrinkled her forehead more ruggedly then ever; A fearfull combustion happen'd 'twixt the *Pyreney Hills* in the *Kingdom of Catalonia* (of old but a *County*), this combustion was a kind of a bonfire to *France*, who presently ran to warme her hands and sport about it, and she hath ministred fuel to keep it in ever since; It grew so furious that the Viceroy with his wife, and some of his family were murtherd, and his house burnt to the ground by the violence of a popular fury. The ground of this fearfull Insurrection was the billeting of the *Castillian* soldiers, and their insolencies, as they march'd through the Countrey; besides some extraordinary contributions which were demanded of that Province for the support of the King now in his extreme necessities having so many profess'd mighty enemies both by sea and land: this Tumult by degrees turn'd to an absolut revolt and defection from their Soverain naturall King; In so much that they flew to *France* and cri'd out for the Duke of *Anjou*; the French quickly hearkens unto them, so there was a Treaty at *Narbona*, whither they sent twelve persons of quality for hostages, and an Order issued out that he should be branded with a hot iron who spake of any accommodation with *Castile*; It was agreed upon, that upon putting themselves under the Royall protection of the most Christian King, he should furnish them with an Army of six thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to be maintain'd by the *Catalans*: Whereupon three Commissioners were sent to *Paris*, one for the Clergy, another for the Nobility, and a third for the Gentry and Cominalty. They who were most busy herein, and indeed the chiefest bellows that blew this terrible fire were the Preaching Fryers and Monks, who in lieu of obedience and conformity to Government, and compliance with the necessities of the King having so many irons in the fire, did teach and obtrude to the people nothing more then common priviledge, and resumption of liberty, whereby the affection of the vassall was imbitter'd, and at last quite poyson'd against his Prince; whence this Aphorisme may be collected, *That the best Instruments misapplied do greatest mischief, and prove most dangerous to any State; And as of the sweetest wines is made the sharpest Vineger, so Churchmen, who by their holy function and white robes of innocence should be the sweetest of all professions, who should breath nothing, but peace, unity, allegiance and love, if they misapply their talent, and abandon themselves to the spirit of faction, they become the bitterest enemies, the most corrodging cankers, and worst vipers in any Common-wealth, and most pernicious to the Prince; In regard that they having the sway ore the conscience which is the Rudder that steers the actions, words and thoughts of the rationall creature, they transport and snatch it away whither they will; making the Beast with many heads conceive according to the colour of those rods they use to cast before them.*

The French having thus undertaken the protection of the revolted *Catalan*, and cut the Spaniard work enough that way, he did miracles against him about this time in the *Netherlands*, for he made the Rat to

eat

eat the Cat, and a Cow to spin out a bundle of Flax, by rendring himself Master of Arras, the chiefeſt Town of the Province of *Artois* after a ſtrong ſtubborn ſiege; which place the *Flemings* held to be impregnable and as impoſſible to take, as it was for the Rat and the Cow to do what was above ſaid.

His Generall alſo in *Italy* the Count of *Harcour*, did do ſtrange exploits, who having entred *Piemont* was beſieg'd by the Spaniard in *Chieri*, but he got through, routs the enemy, and ſuccours *Casal*: This he did with 1500. horſe, and a few foot, who were nothing equall in number to the Spaniards who were thrice as many: This ventrous achievement, which ſome interpreted raſhneſſe rather then true valor, got him a mighty reputation; Then he marcheth to *Turin*, and beſiegeeth it, but the gates were open'd to him within a ſhort time, ſo he made a glorious entrance into the Town, and returns triumphantly o're the Hills to *France*, having ſetled the King his Maſter in the protection of the Infant Duke of *Savoy* his Nephew, which protection or tutele, the Emperour, ſeconded by the Spaniard, alledg'd did belong to him by Imperial right during his minority.

There came a Meſſenger of State to *Paris* who brought notice of the Great Turks death, in the flower of his youth though of a robuſt huge conſtitution; He died by exceſſe of drinking ſome ſorts of wine, wherewith he was us'd to be oft diſtemper'd, notwithstanding the ſtrict law of *Mahomet*, who us'd to preach this Doctrin, *That there was a Devill in every berry of the grape*, and therefore abſolutely interdicted the uſe of wine in his *Alchoran*: But ſuch is the power of ſenſuall appetit in man, that the ſpirit oftentimes is too weake to reſiſt the motion of ſenſe, though the conſcience ſhould dictat, that Hell it ſelf ſtands gaping for him in the very fruition of the pleaſure.

The genius of this great Potentat is very remarkable for when he came firſt to ſit upon the throne of that mighty Empire, he was of a mild, gentle, and peacefull nature, but the Janizaries (who may in time prove the bane of that Tyranicall Monarchy) having violently cut off many of his great Officers, and committed other acts of high inſolencies whereat he had conniv'd, and looked on as a ſufferer a great while; at laſt patience ſo often abus'd, and ſtretch'd as it were upon the Tenter, turn'd to fury in him, and that in ſo high a degree that it came to alter and quite change his diſpoſition, and the very inſtinct of nature in him, for of a ſoft, eaſie and candid humour, he became afterwards, having bin ſo often provok'd by ſuch bloody ſpectacles, as cruell and ſanguinary, as any that ever ſway'd the *Ottoman* Empire: And he order'd matters ſo, that he found an opportunity to be reveng'd of all thoſe that had affronted him before, and bereft him of his Favourites and Officers; He commonly carried with him (a *Ghelad*) an Executioner, who at his ſudden beck, and in his ſight took off many heads to offer up as Viſtims for the lives of his ſlain ſervants; He grew to be ſo fleſh'd in blood, that he was ſcarce capable of any compaſſion, or apprehenſion of fear, notwithstanding that his

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predecessor had been hacked to peeces not long before by one of his meanest soldiers, for attempting to remove his Court from *Constantinople* to other side the *Helleſpont* to *Damaſco*, to be reveng'd of his cowardly Janizaries, who would not fight the yeer before against the Pole; as also of the *Constantinopolitans* for refusing to furnish him with moneys for that war; Hence may be drawn this Caution; *That Princes natures are ticklish things to be tamper'd withall, that it is dangerous to trench too far upon the softnesse of their dispositions, as appears in this Monark, who by often irritations fell from one extreme to another.*

The horrid flames (we spake of before) which were kindled amongst those fiery Mountains (the *Pyreneys*) in *Catalonia*, (the chiefeſt part of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, according to the old division) did rage with such fury, that the sparkles of them by a strong East-wind were caried into *Portugall*, of old (*Hispania Lusitanica*;) And as one torch lights another, or any other thing whose matter is combustible and apt to take, so this other Revolt was kindled by the first; and *Portugall* was very well prepar'd to receive it, as well for the averſnes, and strong disaffection her Inhabitants have to the *Castillan*; (for I have heard them complain often that the greatest misery which could befall them, was, to lose their King *Don Sebastian*, and to fall under the yoke of the *Castillan*) as also for divers other causes; First, she complain'd that the King neglected to protect her against the Hollander in *Braſil* where he had taken *Fernanbuck* her chief staple of Sugars; she urg'd also enhancement of toll, new exactions, and other preſſures; lastly, she complain'd of strangers to be her Viceroyes, as *Casimir* the King of *Polands* brother was intended for her, had he not bin intercepted in France; In so much that it was easie for Spain to have bin a Prophetesse of this defection; therefore her wonted policy and foresight was much questioned, that she did not put out of the way, and engage in some forren employment the Duke of *Bragansa* who was us'd to be perpetually almost at *Madrid*. When the King of Spain told *Olivares* of this revolt; and that there was a new King proclaim'd, the Favorit slighted it, saying, *Es Rey de havas*, Sir, he is but a bean or twelfnight King; but we find now he was far out of his account. Never was there a generall Revolt perfected in so short a compasse of time, for within lesse then a moneth *Don Fohn* of *Bragansa* was so settled in the Kingdomes of *Portugall*, and the *Algarves*, without any opposition at all or marke of strangenes, as if he had bin King thereof twenty yeers together before.

The King of Spain writ a Letter to *Bragansa* (now King) to this effect.

Duke my Cosen; some odd newes are brought me which I esteem folly, considering the proof I have had of the fidelitie of your House; Give me advertisement accordingly, because I ought to expect it from you; Do not draw a trouble upon your self, and hazard not the esteem I make of your life to the fury of a mutinous rabble: but let your wisdom comport you so, that your person

person may escape the danger; My counsell will advise you further: So God keep you.
Your Cosen and King.

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To which Letter this answer was return'd.

My Cosen, my Kingdom desiring its naturall King, and my subjects being oppressed with gabells, and new impositions, have executed without contradiction that which they had oft times attempted, by giving me the possession of a Kingdom which appertains unto me: Wherefore if any will go about to take it from me, I will seek justice in my armes, defence being permitted. God preserve your Majesty.

Don John the Fourth,
King of Portugall.

This put the King of Spain at such a stand, having on both sides of him two sorts of subjects not onely risen up, but quite cut off from him, that, as the Proverb runs in that Countrey, he could not tell what wood to make his shafts of, nor could *Olivares* (which was held such a *Santon*) know what Bead to pray upon, or what Saint to addresse himself unto. And certainly these were two mighty shocks to the Spanish Monarchy, nor could they happen in a time more disadvantageous, she having so many engagements abroad, and having met with such ilfavor'd rancounters by Land and Sea of late years. It is also considerable that this check at home befell her after well-neer an Age of a profound unshaken peace, and desuetude of armes in Spain her self where civil war hath bin so great a stranger, notwithstanding that she still bred soldiers abroad, and found means to embroyle the world alwayes in some place or other: Which makes some interpret this intestine war to be a visible judgement fallen upon her from heaven for disturbing the peace of her neighbours. But I have observ'd it to be the genius of a true *Spaniard* (and I honour him for it) not to bow and hang down his head like a bulrush at every puff of adverse Fortune, nor to yeeld to the fury of the tempest, but to rouse up his spirits more stiffly to resist ----- *Et contra audentior ire.*

In this double trance the King was advis'd to apply his strength first to suppress the *Catalan* (the sturdy *Montaneer*) and till that work were finish'd, to stand onely upon the defensive part against *Portugall* who is not esteem'd so much a man.

Besides these disasters that befel the K. of Spain thus at his own doors, he had another happen'd unto him in the *Netherlands*, for his Brother Don *Fernando* the Cardinal Infante died in the beginning of his manhood at *Brussells*, being of about the same age as his second Brother Don *Carlos* was of, (about 30.) who died some years before: the world did take occasion to wonder that these two Princes in the flower, and prime vigour of their age should thus fall. Don *Carlos* the yeer before he died, desir'd of his brother to be Viceroy of *Portugall*, which was denied him; Moreover it was observ'd he drew more affection

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from the Spaniards in generall by the colour of his complexion, because he was black; for one shall hear the people of *Castillia* sigh up and down and pray, that God would please to send them a King once again of their own colour: Moreover, besides this popular affection he was extremely well beloved of the soldiers, for whom he was alwayes ready to do good offices, and they address'd themselves more to him then to any. These circumstances made odd impressions in the minds of many which gave occasion of censuring and scattering of libells up and down touching his death, whereof I thought it not impertinent to insert one here, but not to impose a beleef upon the Reader thereby; It was drop'd down in the Court at *Brussels*.

Fernando, Carlos murió,
Y dizen fue su Homicida,
Quien a vos os desterró;
Lo que os aconsejo yo
Es, que a Bethlem no bolvais
Hasta que muera Herodes,
Que la muerte os espera
En la sombra que pisais.

Thus unspanioliz'd and rendred into English.

Charles died, Fernando, and they say,
He, who Thee banish'd, did him slay;
If to my Counsell thou give care,
Again to Bethlem go not neare
Till Herod's gone; for death doth watch
In thine own shadow Thee to catch.

This Revolt of *Portugall* was no great news to the French Cardinal, who had his spirits walking there, as well as in *Barcelona*, and every where els; He had this Spring wrought the Duke of *Lorain* to come to *Paris*, where he arriv'd in indifferent good equippage considering how many bitter showers had fallen, and weatherbeaten him before; for he had arm'd five times upon severall desseins, and Fortune alwayes frown'd upon him; Which some hold to be a visible judgement fallen upon him, as also that he is a kind of exile from his own ancient Princely inheritance, for abandoning his first wife, (by whose right he came to the full and unquestionable possession of *Lorain*) and cohabiting with another: The King entertaines him with a magnificence futable to his quality, and the Cardinall is as busie as a Bee to give him all outward content; The one sends him fifty thousand Pistols, the other twenty thousand in a great bason. When he came before the King he complemented for matters pass'd, and kneeling twise the King takes him up telling him, *That he had forgotten all matters pass'd, and for the future he would espouse his quarrells and interests*
and

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and make them his own : And so it seems he hath done, for he hath so wedded himself to the best Towns of *Lorain*, and *Barri*, that 'tis thought he will hardly be ever divorc'd from any of them, unlesse he be forc'd.

The Citie of *Paris* was now full of *Catalans*, and *Portugals*, who strowted up and down the streets, their new King having sent two Ambassadors thither in joynt Commission; In the interim the Spanish Ambassadors at *Rome* negotiat strongly that the Duke of *Bragansa* be excommunicated for an Usurper; if this had taken effect, it had made the King of France incapable to assist him being an excommunicated person: but France had such a powerfull faction in the Consistory, and the Pope himself was such a friend to her that the Catholic King could do little good in this point.

There had some former counterbuffs pass'd betwixt the Cardinal and the Count of *Soissons*, who had slighted one of his Nieces for marriage; but now there was a new clash happen'd between them in the Armies; in *Picardy*, where the Cardinal would have advanc'd his colours before the Count of *Soissons*; The King abetted his Cardinal, hereupon the Count retires in discontentment to *Sedan*, and got the Duke of *Borillon* to ligue with him; They rays'd a considerable Army, and encountred the Kings forces which they routed, but the Count being too eager, and pursuing a broken Troupe of horse which was flying, it was his hard fate to be kill'd by one of the Cardinals servants who then bore Armes; The fall of this Prince of the Bloud in the prime vigor of his virility, causd much lamentation in France mix'd with some murmurings against the Cardinal; And it was a good turn for him, in regard now that *Soissons* was taken away there was no Prince throughout all France able to uphold a faction against him.

France was blest'd with another masculine Royall off-spring the Duke of *Anjou*, which did not raise so much wonder as the *Dauphin*, for he; as I told you before, was two and twenty yeers a getting, this but a twelvemoneth and a few dayes.

Marie de Medici Queen Mother and Dowager of France expir'd this yeer, who may be said to be one of the greatest Queens that ever were, being grandchild, and gran neece to two glorious Emperours, *Ferdinand*, and *Charles* the Fifth, wife of *Henry* the Great, Mother to the three mighty Kings of *France*, *Great Britain*, and *Spain*, and to the ancientest Prince of Christendom, the Duke of *Savoy*; She had bin Regent of France many yeers, during which time she discover'd extraordinary abilities transcending her sex; shewas afterwards twice in Armes against her sonne, and she came at last to conceive such a *Funonian* indignation against the Cardinal de *Richelieu* who had bin chief of her Counsels, and her creature afterwards in point of greatness, for she first preferr'd him to the King, that the breach could never be made up between them; that one might say;

Nec

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*Nec quengquam jam ferre potest Regina priorem,
Richeliuſve parem.*

She was us'd to ſay, That the worſt thing ſhe ever did was the advancement of *Richelieu*; In the ſenſe of this high indignation ſhe forſook France, and drew a voluntary exile upon her ſelf, whereby ſhe was ſo toſs'd up and down to ſeverall Countreys that ſhe became a Tennisball to the *blind* inconstant Goddeſſe; ſhe firſt retir'd to *Flanders* where ſhe found good reſpect and contentment, during the life of the *Archducheſſe*; but then being diſtaſted with the Spaniſh Miniſters, ſhe remov'd to *Holland*, thence to *England*, where ſhe found moſt Royall allowance and Hoſpitality, and her laſt retirement was to *Colen* where ſhe liv'd reclus'd, exerciſing her ſelf in ſtriſt exerciſes of devotion (in her way,) and ſo breath'd her laſt. Such was her fate, I will not ſay her fault, that *Bellona* follow'd her whereſoever ſhe went, (as alſo her three daughters) yet in her own nature ſhe deteſted war, ſpecially that with *Spain*, and that with *Savoy*: And this was thought to be the ground of her animoſity againſt the Cardinal.

The King of France having thoroughly undertaken the protection of the *Catalans*, ſent a royall army, compoſed moſt of Gaſcons, and of them of the *Religion*, which ruſh'd into the County of *Rouſſillon* the Key of Spain towards that part of the Pyreneys; This County was once an appendix of France, but being hypothequ'd and morgag'd to the King of *Aragon* for a ſumme of money it was never redeem'd ſince. France had better fortune in this ſecond *Invaſion* of *Spain*, then ſhe in the firſt at *Fontarabia*; *Perpignan* the ſtrongest Fort of Chriſtendom, for the bignes, was beſieg'd, and the King himſelf made his approach thither in perſon, ſo after a tough ſtubborn ſiege, by *famine* rather then *force*, the Town and Caſtle yeelded, wherein there were above 120. great Canons.

The Spaniard had ſome requitall though nothing adæquat to the loſſe of *Perpignan* in the *Netherlands* about this time, for he regain'd the Town of *Aire* from the French: and the French took *Bipalma* towards *Cambray* from the Spaniard.

The Cardinal of *Richelieu* was ſick that time the Queen Mother died at *Colen*, yet he ſtrain'd himſelf to creep to the Altar, and officiated many Church duties for her ſoul; From that time he was never perfectly recovered, ſo about the latter end of this year he died himſelf in his *Cardinal Palace* at Paris. He was ſo attenuated and dried up with exceſſe of care, and encombrances of the brain, that his body might be ſaid to be but a ſackfull of bones, and a meere *Skeleton*.

This gran Miniſter being thus gone, Cardinal *Maſſarin*, a Gentleman of an ancient Roman extraction, was put to ſit at the helm; A man of the ſame *habit*, and *habilitie*; as if the ſoul of *Richelieu* had tranſmigrated into him; He was a boſome friend, and a great intrinsic Confident of *Richelieu* before, who had imparted his deſſeins, and

infus'd

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infus'd all his maximes into him, and open'd unto him all the *Arcana Imperii*: He had bin an active politicall instrument employ'd by the Pope before, in sundry Treaties, and difficult traverses of State, wherein he had good successe, and in all his negotiations he was discover'd to be a person of excellent addresse, and rare endowments.

The King did not long survive his Cardinal of *Richelieu*, for he fell mortally ill five moneths after, at which time this great Monarch paid *nature* her last debt; and what earthly Potentate is there, though never so independent and absolute, that is exempt from this tribute?

He expir'd the 14th. of May in the afternoon, the same moneth, the same day of the moneth, and about the same houre of the day that his father died 33. yeers before, but with this mark of difference, that the one *went*, and the other was *sent* out of the world about the same time. His bowels were presently carried to be interr'd at *Saint Denis*, the last rendezvous of all the French Kings, whither his Body follow'd after in the height of all Solemnitie and Magnificence that his Queen could possibly devise, whom he left Regent; a Lady of rare temper and prudence, who to the wonder of all the world, had the comfort of two sons after two and twentie yeers expectation; And to that benediction hath another now added, to have not only the sole government of them, but the supreme sway of that huge Monarchy, which She is like to continue about nine yeers longer: A just recompence from heaven for her so long patience, as also for her wise comportment and moderation in refraining utterly to intermeddle with any the least matters of State, while She remain'd under *covert Baron*.

Touching other circumstances of this Kings death, with his constitution of body and disposition of mind, you shall find it in the ensuing Corollary or Character.

*Thus ends the Life and Reign of Lewis
the thirteenth.*

The

A COROLLARY
ADDED TO THE LIFE
of LEVVIS the Thirteenth.

ANd thus have we attended this Great King from the Womb to the Tomb, from the Funt to his Funerall, from *Fountainbleau* to *Saint Denis*; Our story hath waited on him in his *child-hood*, in his *nonage*, and so ascended from his *majority* to his *Meridian*, not leaving him, tills he had clos'd his eyes at *Saint Germans*, which was a good while too soon, considering the ordinary longitude of time that is allowed man to live amongst the Elements; for he reach'd not unto forty three yeers compleat which in some constitutions is accounted but the noon-tyde of virility; In so much that when I consider the frame of his body and the actions of his life, I find that he had more obligations to *Fortune* then to *Nature*; yet was he of a comely middlefiz'd proportion, of a spare but cleer making, and though not strenuous or robust, yet active enough, and patient of toyle; for he would be most commonly in the head of some of his Armies himself, and take very much pains to drill and disciplin his Troups in his own Person, and sit twelve howers together on horseback; He was of a soft complexion though black hair'd, which turn'd gray before he came to thirty yeers, which put him to his dy, and the reason that Nature did thus outrun Time in him, was, that she had not given him a competence of radicall moisture, for seldom came any humidities from him from mouth or nostrill,

T

nor

nor was he subject to sweat, though he would agitate his body often in tough exercises, as hunting the wild Bore, and other sports wherein he would be earnest. Divers eminent vertues did cohabit in him, as *piety*, (in his way) *chastity*, *temperance*, and *constancy*; Touching the first two they shined in him with such a strength and lustre, that his example might have had power enough to give law to all mankind, & cast the world into a new mould, had it bin capable of reformation; He was *pious* in an intense degree, for though he was not known to be subject to any Vice, yet would he be on his knees to his ghostly father every week, rather to *refresh* (as one said) then to *clense* his conscience by confession; nor in his prayers had he as much cause to ask for *pardon* as for *perseverance*; defects he had, but scarce any faults; those rayes which enlightned his brain from above, descended to his breast and became fire, so fervent he us'd to be in his way of devotion; when but a youth he went to the Countrey of *Bearn*, at his entrance to *Pau*, the Inhabitants bringing a Canopy to carry over his head, he ask'd whether there was ever a Church in Town, and being answer'd no, he said, *He would receive no honor in that place where God Almighty had no House to be honour'd in.* And into all other Towns where he entred as Conqueror, he would give expresse command that none should cry out *Vive le Roy* during the time of Procession.

When the Queen (now Regent) found her self quick he caus'd a solemn Declaration to be publish'd, wherein he made the blessed Virgin Protectresse under the Holy Trinity of all his estates, all which he consecrated to Her, and for an immortall mark of this consecration, he commanded the great Altar in the Cathedrall Church of *Paris* to be built anew; with the Image of the Virgin which should hold in her armes that of our Saviour, and the King to ly prostrat before the Son and Mother offering them his Crown and Scepter. The
Archbishop

Archbishop of *Paris* was enjoyn'd to commemorat this Declaration once every yeer, upon *Assumption* day at the high Altar in the Morning, and that in the Evening a generall Procession should be made wherein the Provost of *Paris*, and all the soverain companies should be assisstant with the Court of Parlement; this command extended to all other Archbishops and Bishops throughout France, that they should in every Cathedrall Church erect one speciall Altar for the Virgin *Mary* for this end, and in commemoration of this act to perpetuity.

Many other instances could be produc'd what a great Zealot he was in the Religion and Ceremonies of *Rome*, but the adding of one more shall suffice, which was, that when the old Marshall *de la Force* was admitted to see him a little before he expir'd, he told him from his death-bed, *That he thought God Almighty suffer'd him (meaning the Marshall) to live so long upon earth expecting his conversion, as he had done that of Lesdiguieres.*

He put out sundry Proclamations against Swearers, against Pride in apparell, for he himself went usually very plain; as also against Duells, and the last was so strict that both the appellant and defendant whosoever did survive, should suffer death without mercy, and be depriv'd of Christian buriall, but both rot upon the gallowes with their heels upwards.

As he was thus pious (in a general way) so was he towards his parents in particular; For when he had pass'd nonage, he sayed, *I am now a major to all the world except my mother, to whom I shall be still a minor.* When he had given *Vitry* order to seiz upon the Marshall of *Ancre*, yet he gave him a private instruction *not to touch him in his mothers lodgings.* She was twice in actuall armes against him, yet, though he routed and broak her partisans, and might have crush'd them all to peeces, he pardon'd them all at her request; his brother started out often against him, yet such was his indulgence, that he alwaies forgave him, and receiv'd him again into his bosome; But

when the Cardinall came to sit at the stern, he had such strong influxes upon him, that he postpos'd both fraternall love, and maternall duty, to his affection towards him, or rather towards his kingdom as he term'd it; Insomuch that amongst other short memorandums he sent her word, that *it concern'd him more to conserve France, then to content Her* (viz. his mother.)

Touching his continence and chastity he was a great example, for he was not subject no not as much as in *thought*, much lesse in action to the contraries of these, according to the relatiō of some of his neereſt servants; nor did this proceed from impotence, as some would make the world beleeve, but out of vertue and conscience, for he was said to hate the very *names* of such vices more then others do the vices themselves. Whereupon it was said, while his *Southern* brother in law sported in the pavilions of *Venus*, he was busie in the tents of *Mars*, and took Cities faster, then the other did Maydenheads.

He was also temperat in a high degree, nor would he ever wrong nature with the least exces, or debauchments. Moreover he was wonderfully constant in his affection, where it was once settled; which is rare in Sovereain Princes, (especially in them of that Clime) who have such a variety of choice, and who have no other ground of fastnesse for their affection, but their own fancy: Not all the world could alienat his favor from *Luynes*, though the greatest Princes of France did actually attempt to pluck him away from him by Armes; nor after him from the Cardinal, towards whom his love was in *grain*, and would never lose colour. Nor was he constant onely in his affection, but to his own ends when once settled, and resolv'd upon; to attain which he was so actif and hot, that when he went about it, he not onely apply'd, but gave up himself entirely to the thing. Furthermore he was marvellously modest in an opinion of himself, and so conscious of his own judgement, that he resign'd his very faculty of reason,

reason, and transmitted all his intellectualls to others ; a high point of prudence , for that Prince who steers his course by the Compas of Counsell, though he be himself but of indifferent abilities, is a far wiser man, then he who, albeit never so politic and able of himself, doth guid his affaires by his own fancy, sole opinion being the worst kind of rule in Government. And he was as fortunat as judicious in the choice of his Counsellors, and chiefest ministers both of State and War ; He would not send an *Ajax*, where he should employ an *Vlysses* ; nor a *Saintre*, where *Bouciquault* was fitter for the turn ; The two last were the most famous men that *France* ever bred, one for the Gown, the other for the Sword, according to the verse I have read in an old Manuscript.

*Beaucoup plus vaut pour un assault,
Saintre, que ne fait Bouciquault ;
Beaucoup mieux vaut en un Traicté
Bouciquault, que ne fait Saintre.*

Thus unfrench'd, and made English.

*Were I to choose for an assault
I'd have Saintre, not Bouciquault,
Were I to treat, then should for me
Stand Bouciquault, and not Saintre.*

So many high signall vertues which were naturally inhærent in him were unquestionably the cause that he prosper'd so much ; So that 'tis a question whom Fortune lov'd better, the Father or the Son ; 'Tis true his Father fought four great Battails wherein he prov'd victorious, and so may be said to have come to the Crown of France by Conquest, as much as by Succession, yet all these and other exploits of *Henry the Great's* were within the bounds of France, and nought els but domestic achievments ; But France was too narrow a compas, to com-

comprehend and confine the exploits of the *Thirteenth Lewi*, for besides *thirteen* severall Civil Wars in *France* her self and *Navar* which he suppress'd, and most of them in Person; so many Battailes were fought in *Spain*, *Italy*, *Savoy*, amongst the *Grisons*, in *Lorain*, and in high and low *Germany*; He had at one time in the years sixteen hundred thirty five, and thirty six, no lesse then 130000. foot by Land and Sea, and 8000. effectif horse, in six severall Armies; whereas *Henry the Great* never had above 40000. horse and foot at once in all; never any made *France* know her own strength so much, and to find the length of her weapon, as this King did; He went a horseback betimes, for at thirteen yeers of age he suppress'd in Person two Rebelions, one in *Poitou*, and another in *Britany*: so that he began to triumph in those yeers that others begin to handle their armes, and learn how to sit a horse in an Academy.

Afterwards he was forc'd to get his Queen by the sword, and to bring her into his armes by *Armes*, there being three severall Armies to stop her passage.

He then repells the English who had so boldly invaded *France*, whereby he gain'd a greater addition of credit and fame, then he did by worsting Spaniard, Italian, or German, in regard of the admirable Victories that the English carried home from *France* in times pass'd, by taking one of their warlik'st Kings prisoner, and oftentimes by discomfiting whole Troupes with a handful of men.

After this he beleaguers, takes and batters the chiefeft rampart of the Religion, the impregnable Town of *Rochell* after a stupendous siege by Land and Sea, where a prodigious Dike was cast up which serv'd as a bit in *Neptunes* jawes, and whereby he may be said to have curb'd all the Elements.

No sooner had he shaken off the dust of *Rochell*, but behold him cover'd with snow on the horrid *Alpian Hills*.

Hills almost in the dead of Winter, where he broke open his way with the point of the sword to relieve the Duke of *Mantova*, he got Forts accessibly onely by birds amongst those clowd-topping Hills, and so returns triumphant having done the work, and overcome the rocks in this expedition, as he did the Sea at *Rochell*.

He then goes on to perfect that mighty work of reducing his subjects of the *Religion* to an exact condition of obedience, by dismantling their Towns, whereof they had neer upon three hundred in *France* and *Navar*, by casheering their Garrisons, and bringing them to relye for the future upon royall favor; a work which his five immediat Predecessors attempted to do, but could not effect in seventy yeers, whereas he did it in far lesse then so many moneths.

Then behold him Lord of all *Lorain*, and of the greatest part of *Alsatia*, by being Master of *Brisach*, *Rhin-feld* and other places: Then trace him to the Netherlands, and you shall find him in the ancient Town of *Arras*, and divers other places his predecessor *Francis* the First had given for his ransom.

Lastly look after him tovvards the Pyrenean Mountaines, & you shall see him boldly invade Spain, entring the County of *Roussillon* like lightning, and battering the valls of *Perpignan*, which after a tough siege, notwithstanding she had above 120. great Cannons, and ten strong Bulwarks, he reduc'd to his will, whereby he hath redeem'd vvith lead (I mean good bullets) that Countrey w^{ch} one of his predecessors morgag'd for gold in times pass'd: Thus hath he got three such keys that none of his progenitors (not Emperors) ever had: *Perpignan*, *Pignerol*, and *Brisach*, one to enter *Spain*, the other *Italy*, and the third to rush into *Germany* at pleasure.

Look upon him in his City, Tovvn, Vniversitie, and Court at *Paris*; and you shall find him enlarging her skirts and lacing them about vvith nev valls, according to the custome of *Rome* (once the great Mistresse
of

of the vvorld) vvho upon the encrease of her Empire extended also her vvalls upon any nev vquest.

Nor must you behold him only on Land, but cast your eyes upon him at Sea, and you shall find him incomparably more potent then all his progenitors, the French formerly waded like *sheep*, but now they may be said to swimme like *Elephants*; Before, France could hardly without borrowing, put twenty Sayles of men of War to Sea, but now she can rig a hundred well appointed fighting great Vessells in Galleons and Gallies in both her Seas at a short warning.

But having done with the *pro*, let us see what may be said to the *contra*, touching this Great King; It must be granted that Fortune did not alwaies sit at the helm of his proceedings.

At the Treaty of *Lodun* he was il-favor'dly baffled by his own subjects, who gave him law, and set the dice upon him: but than you'l say he was young, and let it suffice for an excuse: Before *Montaban* he lost five hundred Gentlemen, and five times as many soldiers, and then was forc'd to trusse up his baggage and be gone, and to suffer this Motto upon the gate, *Roy sans foy, ville sans peur*. In *Italy* he lost first and last an hundred thousand subjects. Before and about *Saint Omer* ten thousand. At *Fontarabia* he had a foul repulse: At *Theonville* he lost seven thousand French; before *Hesdin*, there fell little lesse; and the succouring of *Scales* prov'd a tart peece of service; The first Army he sent to joyn with the *States* which came to thirty thousand horse and foot got little credit at *Tillemont*, and lesse before *Lovain*, and divers thousands of them died without an enemy, and came home by *weeping crosse*.

Touching his Appellation or Epithet of *Iust*, there are divers Critiques, and some of his own subjects give out, that it doth not so well quadrat with him; They instance in the maner of Marshall *D' Ancres* death in the dawnsings of his raign: Moreover when he pass'd by

Saumur,

Saumur, he sent for the keys of the Town and Castle to *Du Plessis* promising upon the word of a King he would deliver them him again, which was not done; only a Gentleman of the Religion was left Governor of the Castle for the time: The *Rochellers* complain'd that he often promised to raze *Lewis Fort*; The Duke of *Savoy* spake high language, and charg'd him with breach of Article that he was not sent for, and admitted to the Treaty at *Monson*; The Duke of *Lorain*, more then any, chargeth him (nor hath he reason to be angry with him therefore, for *losers must have leave to speak*) that his safe conducts before *Nancy*, and at other times turn'd to enforcements, his Treaties to traps; The *Emperour* knows not how he fell out with him; And the *Spaniard* swears by his mustachos, that he first infringing'd the Sacred bonds and Capitulations of Peace so solemnly sworn betwixt them, and corroborated by a double Nuptiall knot: Nor saith he, will the proceedings against the Archbishop of *Mentiz* serve to justify him, for he was a Rebelle to the Emperour, before *France* had undertaken his protection.

The Duke of *Lorain* chargeth him further that he would have dissolv'd and nullified the marriage 'twixt *Monsieur* and his Sister, she being a better woman then his first wife, who was daughter to a vassal of the Crown of France; & being also of as good extraction as himself, having lineally descended from *Charlemayne*, and in one respect of a better condition then his Brother was, when he married her, she being a Virgin and he a Widower: Nay he taxeth him of impiety that he should offer to make the Eternal Law of God touching marriage to be baulk'd by a humane and temporary politic Constitution of *France* alterable at mens pleasures, which is, that the Heire Apparant of the Crown should not marry without Royall consent; and being married according to the Rites of the Church, to make this latter law to be of more force then the former.

Poore *Germany* complains that he hath plung'd her in an eternall war by bringing in the *Swed*, and by fomenting him ever since within her bowels: The *Iesuits* have also a saying to him, that his prime Confidents and Confederats were opposit to the *Roman Catholic Church*, as the *Hollander*, the *Hessian*, the *Grifon*, the *Swed*, which cannot choose but be derogatory to the *most Christian King*; The *Spaniard* saith further that he upheld not only old but new Rebels against him, as the *Catalan* and the *Portugall*, and that he need not glory much of his doings against his Monarchy, for *France* of her self had bin able to have done him little hurt, had she not ligu'd with, and employed his own revolted Vassals, as the *Hollander*, and the other *two* mentioned a little before, against him; And therefore what mischief and exploits *France* hath perform'd against him, was by conjunction with these his subjects, otherwise she had never bin able to have trodden as much as upon his toe.

Lastly, the poore Pefans of *France* pitifully cry out that they are transform'd to meer Asses, that his wars were not onely maintain'd with their persons, but nourish'd with their bloud, with their very vitall spirits and livelihoods; that for many yeers he made them to soften and steep their bread in teares, which flow'd in such plenty, that there were enough to quench all the Bonifiers of triumph that have bin made since the beginning of his Raign; the smoakes whereof were so thick that they hinder'd him to see their pitifull, meager looks, and grinded faces; and the clashing of his armes so great, that he could not hear their cries. They complain that they are now so habituated to new impositions and inventions tending to slavery, that like *Milo's* beast, their burthen is grown up frō a calf to an ox since these wars; Yea they cry out that they are grown worse then Asses, they are become meer Dromedaries who not only receive the burden, but kneel down to take it up.

To all these accusations something may be said in answer;

swer; For his saylings with his subjects of the Religion, there are some that would cleer him by recrimination of them, for he never promis'd any thing categorically, but upon condition that they should also performe divers things, and the obligation of the one depended upon the performance of the other, so there were saylings on both sides.

Touching *D'Ancre* he had so involv'd and mingled his own particular interests with those of the State, that an ordinary way could not separat them; He had likewise so distasted all the Princes, that he was like to be pernicious and destructive to his Kingdom, yet it was not his mind to have him suddenly assassinated in that manner; though on the other side, *Wallestein* was made away so by Imperiall warrant, and the act justified.

Concerning the Duke of *Lorain* he alledg'd neglect of homage, (which was unquestionably due unto him) and conjunction with his enemies, as also breach of promise that *Monsieur* should not marry his sister, and the giving of shelter to all Fugitives.

For the Duke of *Savoy* touching the Treaty of *Monson*, though the Duke was not there in Person, yet his businesse was dispatch'd with as much advantage to him, as if he had bin there present, by the French Ambassadors; nor had he as much cause of grievance, as he had of many high obligations of gratitude, to have his Countrey and Towns restor'd unto him which had bin so often overrun by the French armes.

Concerning his colleguing with Protestants, *Spain* may be upbraided as well; for *Charles* the Fifth employed *Lutherans*, whom he call'd his *black bands*, against *France* and *Rome* her self, and that by the advice of his Theologues: This present King *Philip* had privat intelligence with the Duke of *Rohan*, who pay'd him (and his brother) a yeerly Pension, to keep *France* in action by Civill Wars, and had entred into a Treaty

with him accordingly consisting of divers capitulations ; Moreover the *Catholic* Kings have had, and have to this day friendship and confederacie with divers Pagan Princes, and amongst others with the King of *Calecut* (who adores the Devil) for a little *Pepper* or such like Commodities : Nor are there wanting examples how in the time of the *Moores*, the King of *Aragon* made use of *Morisicos* against another Christian King. Another makes an odd Apologie for this King why he confederated with Protestants, and employ'd them so much in his wars, which is, that he made use of them against the greatnes of the House of *Austria* only, whom they suspect and perfectly hate : And touching his subjects of the Religion in *France*, it was never out of any affection unto them, or out of any conceit of fidelity he had of them, that from time to time he gave them Honor and Offices in his Armies, but out of a politic end to diminish, and destroy them by degrees, for a greater number of them, then of *Papists* perish'd in his wars.

For breaking with his Brother in law the King of *Spain* and the House of *Austria* ; he did it meerly out of political interests, and pure reason of State, which is now grown to the highest point of subtilty, and swayes the world more then ever ; It is well known that *France* (as all *Europe* besides) hath bin for many yeers emulous of *Spaine*, and suspectfull of her greatnes, for she hath bin still growing and gathering more strength any time these hundred yeers ; In so much that considering her huge large limbs she was become a Giant in comparison of all her neighbours ; *France* was fearfull of this unproportionable hugenes of hers more then any, and therefore being somewhat distrustfull of his own strength to cope with her single, he enters into confederation with others, as the *Hollander*, and *Swed* ; So that this war of *France* with *Spain* is meerly *preventive* ; Nor is *preventive* war a new thing, but we have warrant for it from Antiquitie ; I am sure it is as old as that of *Peleponnesus*,

ponnesus, the ground whereof, was to keep the power of Athens within its wonted channel, which went daily swelling ore the old banks; this gave the first alarum to the Lacedemonian to stand upon his Guard, and to put himself in Armes; whence afterwards issued that long liv'd war which History renders so famous to posterity. Alphonso K. of Castile made war against the Moors, and the rest of the Spanish Kings (for there were divers then in Spain) finding him encrease in power collegu'd against him; and the reason the Historian gives is, *Nunquam satis fida principum potentia finitimis est, occasionem proferendi Imperii avidè arripiente natura mortalium.* The Decree of the College of Sorbon is, *That the exorbitant greatnes of a neighbouring Prince may be a just ground for a war.* 'Tis well known how watchfull those three Geryons of their times, Charles the Fifth, Henry the Eight of England, and Francis the First of France, were to keep their power in *equilibrio*; they had alwayes an eye upon the Scale to see which way it panch'd and outpois'd: And it hath bin us'd to be the old policy & power of England (though now crosse winds have long blown upon her) to question any of her neighbours touching their encrease of strength in shipping. There be examples without number how it hath bin alwaies the practise of the sagest Princes, as being a rule that's warrantable in the schoole of prudence and honor, to prevent that their adjoyning neighbours oregrow them not by accesse of new power; either by weakning their Allies, by Monopolizing of Trade, encrease of Territory, by mastering of passages, or by too neer approaches. The last makes me think that it is high time for the Hollander to look about him considering the late acquests of the French in the Netherlands, and to be warnd by the old Proverb, *Aye le François pour ton Amy, non pas pour ton voisin.* Have the French for thy friend, not for thy neighbour.

The Austrian Eagle had display'd his wings wider
then

then formerly, by addition of the *Palatinat*, *Triers*, and other places in Germany : France took Armes to make him mew these new feathers, and she had those three things, which one said were requisit to make her eternall, favourable unto her, viz. *Rome*, the *Sea*, and *Counsell* : Pope *Vrban* the Eight had his breeding there twenty yeers together and so was a friend to her ; she had a competent number of Ships, and for Counsell she had *Richelieu* for her Pilot : He was not like your Countrey Wasters that *Demosthenes* writes of, who were us'd to grow skilful in defending those parts of the body where they had bin hurt, but he could foresee and fence away the blow before it was given : And for others, he carried matters so that some of them found their hands sezi'd upon when they were ready to strike. This caus'd him to make his King the first aggressor of the war against Spain ; wherein he had wonderfull succeffe, and done such feats (as hath appear'd already in the body of the story) that as they have struck an amazement in the present age, so they vwill breed an incredulity in the future.

Touching the last complaint against him that he peeld and poll'd the Peasan, 'tis true he did so ; but he who is vers'd in the humour of that people, vvhat boyl-ing brains, and perpetuall inclinations they have to noveltie, and to break out into motion, if they be pamper'd with peace and riches, will conclude, that there is a necessitie to keep them short in point of wealth, vvwhose ordinary effects are pride and insurrections : Yet I beleeve there may be other more laudable vvayes of policy us'd for prevention of this then *poverty* ; It being a true maxime in the Academy of Honor, that it is more glorious for a Prince, to be King of an opulent free people, then of a slavish and beggerly : And the greatest reproach that Forreners cast upon the French Government, is, that the vvealth of the Countrey should be so unequally dispenc'd, the King, Clergy, Nobles, and
Officers

Officers ſvallowing up all, vvwhile the common people have ſcarce that competency which beaſts uſe to have to ſatiſſie the neceſſities of Nature : for there is not upon earth a more plentiful Countrey, and a poorer people generally, then the Peſantry of France. There vvvas another reach of State vvwhy the common people vvvere kept ſo poore and indigent, vvwhich vvvas, that he might be ſupplied with ſoldiers to furniſh his Infantry for the vvvars, vvwhereunto neceſſity vvwill drive any one ; At the ſound of his Drum they came alvvvaies in multitudes to ſerve him becauſe he had alvvvayes ſtore of treaſure to pay them ; He had at one time above 120000. of them in ſeverall Armies, nor vvvere there ever ſuch ſervices perform'd by French *foot*, vvwho formerly had but ſmall repute in the vvworld ; vvwith theſe and his cavalry he perform'd ſuch exploits that as I ſaid before, poſterity muſt have a ſtrong faith to beleeeve them ; ſuch exploits that *Mars* himſelf (the aſcendent of France) might have bin invited to partake of his triumphs ;

—*vel et ipſe vocari*
Iupiter ad prædam poſſet.

With theſe he drew the overwhelmings of *Spain* into a narrower channel, and put her to caſt her policy into a new mould, for whereas before ſhe was for many yeers upon the conquering and *offenſive* part, ſhe is now content to ſtand upon her guard, and put her ſelf upon the conſerving and *deſenſive* part.

By theſe performances of France againſt the Monarchy of *Spain* it viſibly appears, what advantage a little body that hath his joynts well knit and compacted, and hath alſo his radicall moiſture and radical heat (the two gran columns of life) diſpers'd in equall proportion throughout all parts to actuate the whole and make it vigorous, (for ſuch is France) may have over a huge unweldy bulk vvhoſe members by vaſt uneven diſtances are ſo looſly kept together as the *Spaniſh* Monarchy

chy is known to be ; which, were she as closely knit as France, or the *Ottoman* Empire either which extends two and thirty hundred miles and but the (*Hellefont* between) in one continued peece from *Buda* in *Hungary* to *Bagdad* or *Babylon* in *Asia*, I say, if the modern Monarchy of Spain were so closely united, she might compare with the greatest that hath bin yet upon Earth.

And now will we put an absolut period to the history of the life of *Lewis* the Thirteenth. Which we have *illustrated* in the best manner we could, as also to this Corollary and short transcurrence of his reign, which lasted thirty three years, and his whole life hardly reach'd to forty three, a time which as was said before, in a well dispos'd body is accounted but the Meridian of manhood; whether nature posted away, and hastned thus her course in him and made him old before his time by her own weaknes, or by accident, (as some mutter) we will not determin, but rather give faith to the first cause, and to divers dangerous sicknesses whereof he had pass'd the brunt formerly, as also to exces of care and intentivenes of mind, and personall pains in the war : He had a long time to study the art of dying, his disease being a Consumption, which afforded him space enough to set his House in order ; He spoak oft times of the troubles of *Great Britain* in his sickness, and once he was overheard to say that it was a just judgement, because his Brother of *England* would have assisted his subjects once against him.

So this great King died in the highest glory of his actions, for his sayles swell'd with prosperous winds till he came to his last port. He had settled all things so exactly, that when he came to die, he had nothing els to do, but to die, which he did so gently, that it was rather a soft dissolution then death ; By his high exemplary vertues, and strangenes to vice he was a *Saint amongst Kings on earth*, and now may be a *King amongst Saints* in heaven, whither he went on *Ascension day* : For his acts
of

of prowesse he deserves to have the *Alps* for his tomb, & the *Pyrenean Mountains* for his monument, for he made them both to stoop unto him : He left his Queen (a yeer and some moneths younger then himself) *Regent*, as it was her due by Saint *Lewis* law, which she might have clam'd by merit, as well as by right, for she had bin marvailously complying, carefull and indulgent of him; A Lady of admirable sweetnes, moderation, and prudence, for she never tamper'd with the Government in his time, nor would she meddle with the Election of any Officer or Minister of State, nor interpose in any thing, but in matters of mercy and pardon, and then she would be sure to have an inkling how the King was inclin'd (which made her receive few denials) so that being much importun'd for *Monmorency's* pardon (whose first crime, was the last action of his life) she would by no means attempt it. The young King was foure yeers and eight moneths old when his father died, so that the Queen is to rule in chief till he be fourteen, whereby France, *in statu quo nunc*, may be said to have fallen under the government of Strangers, the Queen Regent being a *Spaniard*, and *Mazarini* the Prime Minister of State an *Italian*.

X

THE

THE
LIFE OF ARMAND
JOHN DE PLESSIS
Cardinal of RICHELIEU.



Having done with the Master, we will now descend to his *Minister*, the Cardinal of *Richelieu*, a man so cryed up, that every corner of Christendom rang of his report for twenty years together, nay the walls of the *Seraglio* echoed with his fame, and fear of the mighty doings of France, which made the *Turks* to think oftner upon that famous Prophecy they have amongst them, that the *Ottomans* should at last get *Kenzal almai* the *Red Apple*, which they interpret to be *Rome*, but not long after, their Empire should be destroy'd by a *Flower*, by which they think are meant the *Freinks*. He was a Gentleman of very ancient descent, for in the Tree of his genealogie I find, that by the House of *Dreux* his Ancestors were allied to *Lewis* the *gros*, one of the Kings of France; and by a direct uninterrupted line he came for thirteene degrees from Father to Son, from *William* of *Plessis* who was a Gentleman of high account in *Philip Augustus* time, 1179. When his father *Francis De Plessis* died he was but five years old, and so remain'd under the tutele of his Mother *Susanna de Porta*, who gave him all the advantageous breeding that could be in *Paris* (where he was born) both in an *Academy* for riding, and handling of armes, and in the *University* for learning; he made choice of the Collidge of *Sorbon* to finish the course of his studies, where he took the profession of a *Theologue*, and so became a *Sorbonist* Doctor. He had two brothers, *Francis*, the eldest, was kill'd by the Marquis of *Themines* in duel; *Alphonsa*, the second, being elected Bishop of *Luffon* forsook the pomp of the world; and betook himself to the austere life of a Carthusian (whose rule is never to eat flesh) and so resign'd the Bishoprick to his youngest brother *Armand*, whose life we write: But afterwards, by his meânes, the Carthusian Fryer was brought to accept of the Archbishoprick of *Aix* in *Provence*, then of *Lions*, and so ascended to be Cardinal. He had also two sisters, *Frances*, married to the Baron of *Pont de Curlay*, who had of her the Duchesse of *Esguillon*: And *Nicola*, his second sister was married

ried to the Marquis of Brezé Marshall of France, and first French-Viceroy of *Catalonia* in Spain, upon the late revolt; who hath a son and a daughter by her, *John Armand* the son was Generall of the French Army in the West, and employ'd Ambassador extraordinary to congratulat the new King of *Portugall*; *Clara Clemente* the daughter was married lately to the Duke of *Anguern* eldest son to the Prince of *Condé*.

When his brother *Alphonso* had transmitted unto him the Bishoprick of *Lusson*, he went to *Rome* for a Consecration, and *Paul* the Fifth dispenc'd wth his incapacity of age, for he was but 21. years old; Some report that the Pope observing the height and activity of his spirit, was overheard to say, *That that young Prelat would overturn the world*; being return'd to France from *Rome*, and brought to kisse *Henry* the Fourth's hands, he was somewhat taken with him, telling him that *he was come from that place, whence one day should descend upon him the greatest honor that Rome could afford a Frenchman*, and afterwards he was us'd to call him *his* Bishop. For divers yeers he applied himself altogether to the function of his Ministry, and us'd to preach often in the Kings Chappell: In the Assembly of the three States he was chosen Orator for the Ecclesiastiques, where his pregnancy of wit first appeer'd publicly in matters of State: Whereupon he got footing afterward at Court, and was made *great Almoner*: Then his abilities discovering themselves more and more, he was nominated Ambassador extraordinary for Spain to accommode the differences then a foot 'twixt the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantova*; when the Princes started out in discontent, and put themselves in armes to demolish the Marshall of *Ancre*, some Privy Counsellors were outed of their Offices at Court, amongst others Monsieur *Villeroy* had his Writ of ease for being any more Secretary of State, and the Bishop of *Lusson* was thought the fittest man to succeed him, and to receive the Seales, which he did, and this diverted him from his forren employment to *Spain*.

When the Marquis of *Ancre* was Pistol'd, and his wife beheaded, there was a new face of things at Court, another generation of Officers grew out of the corruption of the old, among others, *Villeroy* steps in to be Secretary of State again in the room of the Bishop of *Lusson*, yet was the King willing he should sit still at the Counsell Table; and Monsieur *de Vignobles* brought him an intimation of the Kings pleasure to that purpose: But the Queen Mother retyring from *Paris* to *Blois*, he chose rather to go with his old Mistresse, then stay with a young Master as the pulse of the Court did beat then; By some ill offices that were done 'twixt the King and his Mother, by factious spirits, many jealousies were dayly fomented between them; Hereupon the Bishop of *Lusson*, had order to withdraw himself from her Court; so he retir'd to his Priory of *Caussay*, but that distance being thought not sufficient, he betook himself to his Bishoprick at *Lusson*; and that place also being suspected to be too neer, he was sent to

Avignon

Avignon the Popes Town, which might be call'd a banishment, for it was out of the Dominion of France. Discontents growing higher twixt the King and his Mother, till at last they broak out into a War, and there being Armies on both sides in motion, *Luynes* writ a Letter to the Bishop to repaire to *Angoulesme*, to which Letter there was a Postscript annex'd all of the Kings own hand to the same effect. The Queen Mother was fled thither from the Castle of *Blois*, and by means of the Duke of *Espernon* with others had considerable forces a foot: Here was a brave opportunity offer'd for the Bishop to shew his head-peece in atoning matters 'twixt the Mother and the Son, for which end he was inordred to repaire thither: He negotiated the busines so succesfully by his dextrous addressses, and flexaminous strains of eloquence that he took away the inflammation of the wound, and so made it easily curable: A Treaty was agreed upon, and the Capitulations being drawn he brought them to the King, who receiv'd him with much shew of grace; and so all matters were accommoded: But this accommodation did not heale quite and consolidat the wound, for it had not search'd it to the bottome, therefore it began to fester, and more putrified matter broak out of it then formerly: The Mother and the Son take up armes again, and the Bishop of *Lusson* was one of the prime Instrumments to re-compose the busines, which was done at last very effectually. The merit of these high services got him a Red Hat, and the dignity of Cardinal, though some difficulties, and many delays interven'd before the finall dispatch came from *Rome*: Then was he chosen *Provisor* of the ancient Colledge of *Sorbon*, where he procur'd of the King that a new Chair of Controversie should be erected. He also repair'd and much beautified that Colledge; Then, upon the instance, and by the advice of the Queen Mother, he was elected *Prime Minister of State*, and *Director* in chief under the King of all matters concerning the public Government of the Kingdome, so he came to be call'd the *Argos* of France.

The first great action that was performed by his guidance, when he was clim'd to this *Plenipotentiary* power was the Mariage with *England*; the Marquis of *Vieuville* had been employ'd in this great busines, but the Cardinal got some of the Capitulations better'd and more to the advantage of France, alledging that it was not fit his Master being the *Eldest Son* of the Church should have conditions inferior to those of *Spain*.

With this *Match* with *England*, there was an *alliance* also made about the same time with *Holland* for a summe of Money. These were the two first *Coups d'estat*, stroaks of State that he made, and it was done with this forecast, that France might be the better enabled to suppres them of the *Religion*, which the Cardinal found to be the greatest weaknes of that Kingdom: Some of them being Pensioners to other Princes to embroyle France upon all occasions.

He found then that the House of *Austria* had got some advantage, and encrease of power, by certain holds it had seiz'd upon in the *Val-*
tolin.

tolin; He adviseth his King to ligue with the *Venetian* and the *Savoyard*, which he did and so spoil'd the design of the Spaniard that way.

The King being told that upon the beheading of the Count of *Chalais*, and the imprisonment of the Marquis of *Ornano* about Monsieur Mariage, his Cardinal had thereby got divers enemies, he appointed him a band of Soldiers for his guard; After this he was made *Super-Intendent Generall of the Marine*, a new Office, and such, that there was never any of the like latitud of power erected in France, for thereby he had authority to supervise not onely all the Sea Ports and shipping of in both the Seas, but to do any thing that might cōduce to the regulating and advance of Trade: so he fell presently to work, and fortified *Hauve de grace*, *Brouage*, the Isle of *Ré*, *Oleron*, *Verdun*, with divers other. Afterwards happen'd the Siege of *Rochell* where in the Kings absence he was made General a while, and that famous Sea Dike was ascrib'd to his invention in chief; after fifteen moneths siege the town was reduc'd, having bin driven to the utmost extremities of want, as to eat nefandous meats, the leather of Coches which serv'd before for Instruments of pride, did now preserve them from starving; at last they petition'd the Cardinal to be their Intercessor to his Majesty for them, who got them more favourable conditions then was expected.

The King went thence to *Italy* with the same Army for the most part, and having cross'd the *Alps*, he took the passe of *Susa*, and rais'd the siege of *Casal* only with the fame of his Person and Armes, and so reliev'd the Duke of *Mantova*, having had besides some dispute with the Duke of *Savoy* about his passage, he left the Cardinal behind to see all things settled: Who returning afterwards to France found the King in *Languedock* having debell'd almost the whole body of them of the *Religion*, but the Plague being hot in that Province, he went to *Paris*, and left his Cardinal to perfect the work, which he did at *Mountauban*, which was the last Town that was surrendred, and so may be said to have bin the key of the whole work.

Being return'd to *Paris* there came news that the Duke of *Savoy* abetted by Imperial and Catholic armes pourfued still his interests against the Duke of *Mantova*; In prejudice as was pretended, of the late Articles twixt him and France; The Cardinal was appointed *Generalissimo* of two Armies, wherewith he travers'd the *Alps* again, took the Town and Castle of *Pignerol*, and returning to *Lion*, to give account of his service he found the King sick, and powerfull enemies at Court, but especially he found the Queen Mother averse to him; He perceiv'd the faction so strong against him, that he fell on his knees before the King desiring that he would please to dispense with his attendance any more at Court, and that he might be permitted to retire to his devotions and the functions of his Ministry; the King being now indifferently wel recover'd, went to visit him the next day, and absolutly denied him leave to depart the Court, saying; *There*

was

was no reason he should forsake them who loved him, to humor the caprichios of those that did not love him.

The Kings Army which he had left in Italy under *Schomberg* was at this time at an extreme low ebb, and upon point of mutining if not disbanding for want of pay, and there was scarce one thousand pound then in the Kings Coffers; yet, notwithstanding the brangling hazardous stand he was at, by reason of the Kings sicknes, and the potent combination which was a foot, and banded so eagerly against him, he, of his own store, sent two hundred thousand Franks to keep life in the Army, and this was before the Kings recovery, or assurance of the continuation of his favor.

He was afterwards made *General* of the Order of the Abbots of *Premonstré*, and he had also the attribut of *Eminence* given him, which was solemnly confirmed by *Rome*, to distinguish and peculiarize him from other Cardinals, and Princes of the Church: nor would he receive any Letters, or speak with any Ambassadors unlesse they would give him that Title: The Queen Mother utterly misliking his aimes of policy, which tended to put the Princes, her children, together by the eares, forsook *France*, and *Monsieur* followed her. He return'd with a considerable strength of horse, and *Monmorency*, the popular'st man of France, joyn'd with him, to reform the State, and to ruine the Cardinal, who was us'd to call the said *Monmorency* his son, but they mis'd of their ayme; Afterwards the Count of *Soissons*, joyn'd with the Duke of *Borillon* attempted the like, and had *Soissons* liv'd it was probable they might have done something, for they had utterly routed the Kings Army, but *Soissons* being kill'd, it quail'd the whole plot. The last attempt to destroy him was by *Monsieur le Grand*, who had intelligence with the Spaniard, but it was detected, and so crush'd in the shell, and he with *Monsieur de Thou* beheaded. There were also divers privat attempts upon him, *Alfeson* would have pistoll'd him, *Chavagnac* and *Barnard* would have poison'd him, *Gargan* and *Bouchard*, who were reputed Magicians, would have bewitch'd him, but they had all ropes for their rewards: so nature ran out her course in him without violence, for he died in his bed, and at his house in *Paris* about the dead of Winter in the beginning of *December*, a little after the King had visited him, and bad him his last adieu, having not reach'd 58. yeers; His right arme began to mortifie many moneths before, and his whole body was grown so lanke and thin as it look'd like an Anatomy.

He principally recommended to the King Cardinal *Julio Mazarini*, to whom he had open'd all the boxes of his breast, together with *Monsieur Chauvigny & Noyer*, advising his Majesty to steer his cours by their Counsell, and he should still prosper and triumph: He bequeath'd his body to the Colledge of *Sorbon*; And touching his estate, which was valued at neer upon sixty millions of Franks, he divided it to sundry Legacies; he gave the Marquis of *Pont de Courlay* the Duchy of *Richelieu* together with the government of *Brouage*:

To the Marquis of Brezé the Duchy of *Fronsac* estimated at an hundred thousand Franks yeerly rent, together with the government of *Haure de grace*. He bequeath'd to the Duchesse of *Eguillon* his House at *Ruel* with fifty thousand Franks rent. He gave Monsieur du *Plessis Ghince* twenty thousand crowns a yeer. His Cardinal Palace in *Paris* where he expir'd he bequeath'd to the King, with all the Plate and Householdstuffs thereunto belonging, and a Jewel valued at two hundred thousand crowns: To the young *Dauphin* he gave his Library rated at fifty thousand crownes: To every one of his *Prætorian* soldiers he bequeath'd two hundred crowns apeece, and preferr'd them all for a guard to the *Dauphin*; By this vast estate it appears that though he was so active in his Masters busines, yet he did not neglect his own, so that the Kings service was not the sole Center of his endeavours as he was usd to say often.

Such was the emigration out of this world of *Armand John du Plessis* Cardinal of *Richelieu*, Duke, and Peer of France, Knight of the holy Spirit, and Super-Intendent Generall of the navigation and commerce of France, Principall Minister, and Director in chief of all affairs both of State and Warre, &c. having bin thrice General, and once Generalissimo of three Royall Armies.

Questionlesse he was a man had a rare talent, and rich intellectualls, of a notable vivacity of spirit, and constancy of resolution, of a prompt, yet profound imagination, of a subtill discours, yet solid judgement, (things which seldome meet in one subject under that Clime) of pressing and powerfull reason, and a tenacious memory, in so much that all the faculties of his soule being summond to consult seriously upon any businesse, they were enough to make a compleat Senat of themselves. Add hereunto that he had an admirable gift of elocution attended with state and gravity, and very swaying as it went along: Many examples could be produc'd hereof, but we will instance in three only, In a *Complement*, in a *Letter*, and in an *Oration* of his, which may serve to make a judgement of the rest: For the first, when he had receiv'd the Cardinals Hat from *Rome*, he attended the Queen Mother and told her, as if he had been surpriz'd with a kind of amazement,

Madam, I want words to expresse the thankfulness of my heart to your Majesty, all that I can say, is, that I will spend my best blood, and all my spirits in your service, and this *Scarlet*, which I weare by your goodnes, shall make me always remember this vow.

For the second, when the Queen mother was retir'd to the *Netherlands* out of a high displeasure against him, he writ to her this ensuing Letter.

Madame, I know my enemies, or rather the enemies of this State, not contented to have discredited me unto your Majesty, do endeavour also to make my attendance neere the King, to be suspected; as if my neernes to his Person tended to remove him from you, and to separat what God and nature hath

hath so closely conjoin'd: I hope by the goodness of God that their malice will be discover'd, that my carriage will be shortly justified, and that my innocence shall triumph over calumny.

Nevertheless Madame, I shall account my self still infortunat, in that I am made to cease from pleasing your Majesty, and life it self is irksome unto me in the state I am in, finding my self depriv'd of the honor of your favor, and of that esteem which I valued more then all the greatnes of the earth, and as those which I possesse proceed from your liberall hand, so I cast and prostrat them all at your Royall feet. Excuse Madame your own work and creature, whatsoever shall proceed from your Majesties pleasure, shall be receiv'd by me without murmuring, and accepted with a thousand thanks. But Madame, out of that piety which is inherent in you, be pleased to spare the purple of the Church wherewith you have adorn'd me, which will lose its esteeme and lustre, if your Majesty cast upon it such black spots: How can it, be that the most oblig'd of men, should prove the most ingratfull? And that my conscience, my first inclination, and interest binding me to your service, I should now separat my self from it, and thereby draw upon my self the name of Traitor to the best and greatest Queen upon Earth?

This, Madame, well consider'd should absolve me from all crime, and free me from all suspicion before your Majesties tribunal, where I am almost condemn'd without being heard: I appeal not from it, in regard of the perfect obedience I beare to your will, I only blame my misfortune, but will not dispute with my Soverain Mistresse, nor ask reason of her for what is pass'd, nor do I intend to make use of the Kings favour, or any ministers of his, or of the remembrance of my former services, against the bent of your indignation: the very thoughts hereof would be a crime, and opposit to my hopes, which are to find glory in fidelity, and safety in innocence: I desire lesse to dragg my fortune in France, or to cary it to Rome, to see more lamentable ruines then mine own: Wheresoever your Majesty shall be, if I be not permitted acceffe, it will be death unto me, and wheresoever I go, it shall be to go out of the world: yet I desire for my reputes sake, and for the rank I hold in the House of God, that it might be after the vindication of my innocence, and, if it be not too great a boldnesse, after the recovery of your Majesties favor: If fortune afford me this, I shall little resent my going out of the Court, nor out of the world, because I die a thousand times a day, since your Majesty gives out, that I am not the same, I was, which is

Madams,

Your Majesties most humble, most faithfull,
and most obedient servant

Armand. Card. of Richelieu.

Concerning the third which discovers more then any thing the abilities of a Minister, this Oration shall serve which he pronounc'd in the great Convention of Notables, a new Court generated of the discon-

tinuance of the old Assembly of the three Estates, the King himself sitting there in Majesty.

Sir; 'Tis needles in my judgement to represent unto this Illustrious Assembly, the great Actions your Majesty hath perform'd within this year, as well in regard the Lord Keeper hath acquitted himself very worthily of that task, as also because they speak cleerly enough of themselves; And there is no man but sees that God hath been pleas'd to make use of that piety, prudence and courage which he hath infus'd into your Majesty, to work those advantages to France in so small a time, which some held impossible to be done in an age: Nor is there any need to let them know the vast expence these high actions have caried with them, because every one knows, that in matters of State, great atchievements cannot be done with little charge, and the numerous troupes of Combatants which your Majesty hath bin enforc'd to entertain at one time in sundry places, as well within, as without your Kingdom, afford understanding men occasion to magnifie your power, as well as to admire your vast expence.

There is not any amongst you my Lords, who knows not with what purenesse this treasure hath bin issued, and what necessity there was of it; the probity of those who manag'd the finances justifieth the first point: and the oppression of the Allies of this Crown, and the rebellion of them, who are Traytors to God in this Kingdom do sufficiently assert the truth of the second: the desseins of some having bin no sooner projected, then form'd, to interrupt his Majesty in reducing France to her first splendor: In so much that this State considering the utility she receives thereby together with her Allies, have more cause to approve, then complain of these charges.

Matters, thanks be to God, are now at a good point, but one cannot promise, that they will continue so alwaies, and it were to want judgement to think that they must not be push'd on further; Of necessity this Kingdom must be left expos'd to the attempts of those who daily meditat the abasing, if not the ruine thereof, or there must be means found to secure it. The Kings intentions are to rule it so, that his government may equall, if not surpass any time pass'd, and serve for an example for the future. The marvailous assistance which it hath pleased God to afford him hitherto, when his affairs were in the most deplor'd case, gives us hope that he will still persevere: Being seconded with the sage counsels of the Queen his Mother, with the concurrence of Monsieur his Brother, who I may truly say is so fastned to his Majesties will, and the interest of the State, that nothing can separat him: I see no reason at all to doubt of it, since none but God Almighty can produce things of nothing, therefore to come to so good ends, of pure necessity, either the ordinary expences of the Court must be diminish'd, or the public receipts augmented, or perchance both must be done.

It is not fitting you I say, to meddle with the necessary expences, for the conservation of the State, the very thought thereof were a crime: yet his Majesty preferring the public before the privat, is willing out of his own motion to retrench his House in things that touch his own Person, leaving you to judge how the rest will be employ'd.

One might think that such retrenchments were not seasonable at this time, because they use to alienat sometimes the affections of hearts : But as the businessse will be carried, great and small shall find their account and therein their satisfaction ; the most austere rules seem sweet unto the most tumultuous spirits, when they have, not in appearance only but in reall effect, the public good and incolumity of the State for their sole aime.

Sir, the Queen your Mother, prays that you would think it good to let her do that, which your piety towards her would not permit you as much as to think of your self, which is that she be reduc'd to a lower revenue then she had in the late Kings time ; it being true that she had not better'd her condition then, when during your Majesties minority she rais'd the fortunes of others for the advantage of your Majesties service. Different times require different and sometimes contrary courses, that which is proper at one time may be impertinent at another.

In great tempests one must share his goods with the Sea, to lighten the Vessell, and avoid shipwrack ; prudence requires it, that the whole perish not, for casting away part : the interest of particulars obligeth no lesse then that of the public ; there being nothing more true then what an ancient Prelat of this Kingdome said, That 'tis impossible the riches of private persons can subsist when the State it self is poore and necessitous : By such husbandry the ordinary expences may be lessen'd by three millions.

It rests then to augment the receits, not by such impositions that the people are not able to beare, but by innocent means which gives place to the King to continue what he hath practis'd this yeer in easing his subjects by diminution of tallies. To this effect we must come to the redemption of lands, to Notaries, and Registers, and other morgag'd rights which amount to twenty millions, a thing not onely profitable but just and necessary.

If this dessein take effect, the people who contribut more of their bloud, then of their sweat to the expences of the State, shall be eas'd.

If there be need to resist a forren Invasion, or some intestine Insurrection, (if God for our sins permit any more) or to execute a dessein that's profitable and glorious for the State, want of money will be no losse of time ; there will be no need to have recours to extraordinary wayes, to Court partisans, and put hands in their purses who have them oft times full of the Kings moneys : One shall not see the Soverain Courts busied to verifie new Edicts : Kings shall appear no more upon their beds of justice, unlesse it be to undo what they had done some other time : In fine, all things shall be at such a passe, that hath bin long since desir'd by all good men, and may continue so whole Ages.

One will say, and perchance I may think so my self, that 'tis easie to propose good desseins, and as pleasing a thing to speak of them, but the execution is difficult : Yet neverthelesse, I dare speak it in the presence of the King, having well thought of it, there may be expedients found whereby within the compas of six yeers one may see the end and perfection of this work : The King, my Lords and Gentlemen, hath Assembled you expressly, to search and find them out, to examine things, and concur with him in resolution, his

Majesty assuring you, that he will readily and religiously execute what shall be determin'd for the restauration of this State.

The sick sometimes die, by too many remedies, as well, as none at all; I am bound to tell you this by the by, that to reestablish this State in its first splendor, there's no need of many Ordinances, but real executions; by this means this Assembly may close more speedily, though she may be perpetuall for the fruit she shall produce: few words and many deeds will testifie both the good intentions, and judgements of them whereof she is compos'd.

The King doubts not but you will do what concerns your duty in this occurrence: You shall know by the event that his Majesty will surpass himself to procure the good of his Kingdome, the glory of reviving it, is reserv'd to the vertue of so great a Prince: you are much bound to his goodness, that he hath vouchsaf'd to make you partakers thereof, and for my particular I should be much bound to God, if he presently took me out of the world upon the accomplishment of so high, so glorious, and holy a work.

As thus in things premeditated, so in ordinary extemporall discours, he had a pressing way of eloquence, and exaggeration of speech, which came from him in such a grave serious accent that it mov'd all along, In so much that by his garb he seem'd to be rather an *Italian* then French, seldom or never would reason thrust be out of her throne by any impetuous irregular motions; seldom would his passions make any furious sallies; the greatest fit of distemper that ever was discover'd in him was, at the news of *Wallesteyns* death, with whom he had held intelligence for betraying the *Imperial* Army, & so to pave a way for France to ascend the Empire: He would easily break out into tears, and tenderness of spirit. The prime perfection in him was his forecast, he was quick-sighted and Eagle-ey'd in every corner of christendom; He had Ecchoes in every Court which sounded unto him all the affairs of State, in so much that he knew as well what was done in the Junta's of *Spain*, in the Consistory at *Rome*, in the Cabinet Counsels of *England* and *Germany*, as if he had bin President of all their Counsels; He had his beagles abroad every where, which were excellent to find the sent of things, and amongst others one *de Lope* a Jew was his chiefeft Spy: A little before the revolt of *Catalonia* and *Portugall*, he was overheard to say, *That shortly he would give the Spaniard such a bone to gnaw, that should shake all the teeth in his head*: And touching the troubles of *Scotland* and *England* he was us'd to say, 'twas easie for one with half an eye to have foreseen them.

He had an excellent invention to devise wayes to get money, in so much that when the Cow slack'd, he had a way to presse her nipples, so that all the time of his sway the King never wanted Treasure: he us'd France like *Prospero* *Columnas* Goose, pluck the old feathers and the new ones will grow the faster.

He gave her likewise all sorts of Physick, sometimes he would give her

her a purge, sometimes a vomit, then would he often Phlébotomize her, and by sweating and fluxing do away the peccant humors: He held that Principle a vain thing, which calls the *peoples hearts, the Kings best Exchequer* : He verified the saying, that

*La France est un beau pré,
qu'on ton-doit trois fois l'année :*

*France is a meadow, which if you do mow
thrice every yeer, the grasse will better grow.*

Or,

*France's like your beard, which the more oft you shave,
still the more thick and plusher hair you'l have.*

He thought often upon that Maxim that *populus aut humiliter servit, aut superbe dominatur* The common people serve slavishly, or rule proudly, they are like fire and water, *Good servants, but ill Masters*, therefore he kept them under, by impositions and poverty: It was long, before the King took him into his bosome, though he had always a great conceit of his abilities: A good while when he saw him come to Court, he was us'd to say sometimes, *Voycy venir le Fourbe*, Here comes the cunning Companion; but afterwards he so fastned upon his affections, that whereas to others, Kings favours are but as Tenacies at wil, the Kings favor to him might be call'd a stable possession, 'twas not as brittle glasse, but as firm as Diamond: Thus for twenty yeers together he say'd securely upon the Ocean of Royall favour, which useth to be full of rocks, shelves, and Quick sands, but he knew the use of the Compasse so well, that he avoyded them all.

He was marvailously constant to his ends, assiduous and sagacious, whereby he took off from the Frenchman that reprochfull saying, which defines him to be an *animal sine praterito et futuro*. He fitted his projects so aptly to the means, and the means to the ends, that he seldom say'd of his expectation: He stir'd all the Cæcodæmons of hell against the House of *Austria*, and a little before he died he threatned to pull the King of Spain out of his *Escoriall*; such was his forren Intelligence, that he did the Enemy more mischief by discovering of his Counsels, then by discomfiting his Armes. He had such a nimble apprehension, that he oft times would find out truth at first search, the prime motions of his thoughts being so conclusive, that what discours he form'd upon them afterward, was but an approbation of the first Idea, which needed no addition.

He was no great zelot in his own Religion, but as he made her subservient to his politicall ends; nor would he ever employ Jesuit: he had a moderate opinion of the *Reformists*, which made him to be call'd the *Huguenot Cardinal*. And he would have often in his mouth this saying, *Maneat moralis benevolentia, inter discordes sententia*. Yet he writ a book against them, which is extant. He did them more mischief

chief by complementing with them, then by combating; He was overheard to say that he had taken *Rochell* in *despight of three Kings*, meaning his own for one, for it was a great while before the King could be induc'd to that expedition: Saint *Martin* was beholding to him for his *cloake*, els the English had taken it away from him at the Isle of *Ré*: with which cloake 'twas said, Saint *Martin* cover'd him afterwards in many Battails.

He was a great cherisher and promoter of vertuous men, and would find them out wheresoever they were, in so much that he gave every yeer in pensions little lesse then an hundred thousand Franks. He erected two Universities, one in *Paris* call'd *L'Academie de beaux Esprits*, where the prime wits of the Kingdom met every Munday; and another at *Richelieu* where the *Mathematiques* and other Sciences were read in the French Language: the difficulty of the Latin deterring many from the study of them in other places. He did so oblige all the wits of the Kingdom, that they strove who should magnifie him most; and there were never such hyperbolically expressions of any man and not without some mixture of profanenes, which shews that there is no *Inquisition* in France. Some said, *That God Almighty might put the government of the world into his hands: That France in God, and the Cardinals hands were too strong: that, What the soule was to the body, the same he was to France.*

Si foret hic nullus, Gallia nulla foret.

Some appropriat, the reduction of the *Rochellers* soly to him, therefore to sooth him, one French Chronicler writes that in the taking of that Town *Neither the King nor God Almighty himself had a share in the action, but the Cardinal himself.* Thereupon another made this Distich.

*Richelii adventu porta patuere Rupellæ,
Christo infernales ut patuere fores.
The gates of Rochell op'd to Richelieu,
As those of Hell to Christ asunder flew.*

Then another.

*Cedite Richelio mortales, cedite Divi,
Ille homines vincit, vincit et ille Deos.
Vayle mortalls, vayle ye gods to Richelieu,
He mortalls can, He can the gods subdue.*

Another thus.

*O Princeps delictæ Deo, cui militat æquor,
Et tempestates omnia lata ferunt,*

*Magne pater patria; quæ sæcla ingrata recusens
Indigites inter te numerare Deos?*

And in the French Language there are a world of such Hyperboles, we will instance only in two.

*Et si nous faisons des ghirlandes,
C'est pour en couronner un Dieu;
Qui sous le nom de Richelieu
Reçoit nos Vaux & nos offrandes.*

Another.

*Heros a qui la France erige des Autels,
Qui prévois, & qui fais le bonheur des Mortels;
Qui sçais mieux l'advenir, que les choses passées,
Pénétre dans mon Ame, &c.*

Another.

*Si quelq'un dans ces vers parle de Richelieu
Qui sous l'habit d'un homme il nous describe un Dieu;
Vous n'êtes point suet à l'humaine impuissance, &c.*

He that's cryed up for the *Cicero* of France, speaking of his book against them of *Charenton*, saith, that, that book might be the death of all other books, except the Bible.

Another, though a Royal Chronologer, attributes more to him then to his Master, the King himself. He calls him the gran Director, and most puissant Genius of France, the perfectest of men, which doth penetrate things to come, and is ignorant of nothing, great and incomparable Cardinal, the most eminent among mortals; to whom the crabbedst and most mysterious affairs of State are but pastimes: Visible God, and tutelar Angel of the Univers, a spirit that moves the Heavens, and the stars, the blisse of the world, the supreme intelligence, the Phoenix of the earth, who never had, nor ever shall have his parallell.

These strange evaporations and high strains of profanenes shew plainly, as I said before, that the Office of the *Inquisition*, hath no stroak in France, as in *Italy*, *Spain*, and elsewhere it hath, to curb the extravagancies of mens brains.

As there were a number of such Sycophants amongst the Wits of France, that Idoliz'd him in that maner, so there wanted not others that threw dirt in his face; by Pasquils and Libells; one drop'd this Satyre in *Rome*, which flew thence to the streets of *Paris*.

*Papa noſter in-Urbanus,
Rexque parum Chriſtianus,
Cardinalis Infernalis, ugar I don't know
Capuchinus coequalis, ugar I don't know
Replem mundum totis malis.*

*Urban our Pope not much urbane,
The King not too much Chriſtian;
With the Infernal Cardinal,
And Capuchin his Coæquall,
The world do fill,
With thouſand ills.*

Another comes little ſhort of this, by calling the Capuchin, the Cardinal, and the Devil, the three degrees of compariſon.

In the year 1640. there were extraordinary Revellings and Triumphs in *Paris*, and there were divers Maſques and Balls in the Cardinals Palace: And one morning there was found nayl'd upon the gate this libell.

*Tandis qu'en dance au Palais Cardinal,
La mere de trois Rois vâ a l' hôpital.*

*While people dance ith Palace Cardinal,
The mother of three Kings goes to the Hoſpital.*

Amongſt other peeces of Invention which were publiſh'd of him, there was one call'd the *Chymical* Ambaſſador, which in regard 'tis a new way of fancy compos'd by a Perſon of quality, and very facetious, I will inferſt here; The Author makes him to employ Ambaſſadors extraordinary not onely to Chriſtian Princes, but other Pagan Potentates to enter into a Confederacy with them as followeth.

Maſter *John Sirmond* ſhall take the qualitie of the Duke of *Sabin*, and of the Marquis of *Cleonville*; he ſhall clap a ſword at his ſide, and take for his train five or ſix of the *Gazetic* Academy, which we have made hardy lyers: Above all things they ſhall be inſtructed in the prayſes of my Lord the Cardinal Duke, and to that effect they ſhall cun by heart all the Poems, Epigrams, Acroſtiques, Anagrams, Sonnets, and other peeces made by the Latin and French Poets of the Times, which they ſhall diſperſe up and down gratis as they paſſe, but for fear that this Merchandize be not foreſtall'd, and this falſe money cryed down, we command the ſaid Ambaſſador to depart as ſoon as poſſibly he can, becauſe our affairs do preſſe us, & we may chance take our meaſures ſhort in regard Duke *Charles*, terming himſelf Duke of *Lorain*, is nimble becauſe of the nourtire he hath had in France; and the Germans, being now tyr'd with the troubles we have brought in

in amongst them may end the war; the Spaniard alsoresents our injuries more then ever, and those Devils the *Crabats* advance towards our Frontiers.

The Ambassador shall speak neither good nor ill of the King, because his Majesty knowing nothing of this Ambassy may chance disavow it: He shall accommode himself to the beleef of all Princes, Republicques, and people, and shall make semblance to be of the Religion or Sect of them with whom he is to treat; He shall extoll the prayses of the *most eminent among mortals*, he shall call him a visible God, the tutelar Angel of the Univers, the Spirit that moves the heavens and stars, the happines of the world, the supreme intelligence, the Phoenix of the earth who never had, nor is like to have his equall, &c. If he find that it be taken ill that we have injur'd all the Princes of Christendom, he shall study some reasons to make them digest all: If he find perhaps that any books have been printed in Flanders against my Lord the Cardinal, he shall avouch that they are abominable, and to be burnt by the hangman, if he speak with any that detest Magic, he shall assure them that these books are full of such stuff; If he find that Champagnie trembles, and that there is a dessein to shake off the yোক in *Lorain* and *Alsatia*, he shall swear and all his followers besides, that my Lord the Cardinal hath rais'd 150000. foot, 20000. horse, 10000. pioners, and so many cariage horses, 300. Canons, with a proportionable number of bullets, 100. millions in gold to give the law to all *Europe*: That besides landforces he hath 500. Galeons of war at Sea laden with 50000. men more, and that there is bisket, beverage & fresh water which cannot corrupt to nourish them for ten yeers: That there are engins which will reduce instantly to ashes any Town that resists; that there be Vessels that can sayle between two waters, and that can go under other ships to blow them up into the Air, or sink them: That he hath found out *Archimedes* his griping irons, whose vertue is to grapple a ship a thousand paces off: In fine, my Lord, the Ambassador shall omit nothing that may give security to Champagnie, and strike a terror into *Lorain*, and he shall cary the busines so, that the same arguments may serve to raise fear and hopes.

He shall passe as speedily as he can by *Strasburg*, *Frankfort*, *Nuremberg* and other Imperiall Towns, which have not so much knowledge of the artifice of my Lord the Cardinal Duke, and if he thinks fitting he shall conceale his quality, and disavow his Countrey, he may say he is an *Englishman*, to which effect he shall make use of his Latin, and counterfeit as well as he can the English accent.

If he is bound to enter into the states of the Duke of *Saxe*, and of the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, he shall passe as speedily as possibly he can, because those wretches have half spoild our mystery, in making their own peace, then, when we thought to have made them perish with us; and since they would not do so, they have rendred themselves unworthy of the good grace of the *most eminent amongst mortals*, and let

them be assured that the Spirit which moves the stars will cast ill influences upon them.

Then shall he passe to *Poland* to find the King, whom he shall salute in the name of the *most eminent among mortals*, he shall assure him of his friendship, and swear unto him that he will hold good correspondence with him, provided that he enter in person with his forces into *Hungary* and *Germany* to make war against his Uncle: It is here that my Lord Ambassador shall display all his eloquence to shew that to gain further security and further encrease of power ther's no kinred, and that amongst Soverains the Soverain law ought to be that which force of armes gives the weaker. The expedients requir'd to ruine the House of *Austria*, shall be propos'd in this maner: That the *most eminent among mortals* doth promise ten millions of gold to the King of *Poland*, assuring him of the Imperiall Crown: If he saith that we have no Electors on our side since the Archbishop of *Triers* was so unluckily taken away: my Lord Ambassador shall assure him, that we are so strong the t'other side of the *Rhine*, that we shall constrain the three Ecclesiastic Electors, and the Duke of *Bavaria* to do whatsoever we please. There is no question for that, but to afford us means by a notable diversion to settle our Kingdom of *Austrasia*, according to the Cart that *Bertius* made to the *most eminent among mortals*, and which is always at the ruel of his bed. It is an Empire that's design'd for his Eminence, who scorns to be call'd Cardinal Duke, and would be King at any rate. This Kingdom of *Austrasia* contains all the Country 'twixt the *Mose* and the *Rhin*, to begin at the French County, and to end at the source of both the Rivers. We have already *Lorain*, *Alsatia*, *Monbeliard*, some part of the lower *Palatinat*, *Mentz*, and something of *Triers*; we have when we will the French *Conté*, *Luxemburg*, *Liege*, *Colen*, *Fuliers*, *Cleves*, and *Gueldres*; we shall agree well enough with the *Hollander* for what they hold, and so we shall make a Kingdom for the *most eminent among mortals* of 160. Leagues long, rich and well peopled, which shall be given in mariage to the most accomplish'd Lady on earth the Neece of that spirit which moves the heavens, who calls her self *Madame de Combalet*. My Lord Ambassador may shew her picture to the King of *Poland*, and if he likes her, he may promise him for a dowry the Kingdom of *Austrasia*, the Duchy of *Richelieu*, thirty places more in France, and ten millions of good gold without the false money of the same alloy which we gave the *Swed*.

If the King of *Poland* say, that the *most eminent among mortals* cosend the last King his father, and that in the yeer 1630. *Charnassé* came in the behalfe of his Eminence to treat of a Truce 'twixt the Kings of *Poland* and *Swethland*, to give thereby opportunity to the latter to enter into *Pomerland*, and thence to *Germany*, as it appears by the Letter and Instructions of his Eminence in the moneth of *July* of the same yeer: If it be alleg'd that the same time that *Charnassé* treated of these things in *Poland* and *Swethland*, *Cormolin* was in *Moscowie* for his Eminence, to invite the *Russe* against the *Pole* which he effected, If these people,

people, which are so simple as to give credit to any thing, do accuse us of perfidiousnes, he must then disclaime the actions of *Cormolin*, and swear that he had his head chop'd off for making the *Moscovit* arme against *Poland*.

If my Lord Ambassador advance nothing in *Poland*, where it's likely we are too well known, he shall go to *Russia*, and let him take heed that the Barbarians treat him not ill among those woods: He shall go streight habited like an Englishman or a Hollander to *Mosco* to find out the Emperour, to tell him the reasons which hindred him to send in the yeer 1633. the supply of men and money which his *Eminence* had promis'd him, and that the Turk was not made to enter into *Poland* as the Bascha of *Buda* made his *Eminence* beleieve: He shall propound that if he please to break the treaty of Peace with *Poland*, that Prince shall be engaged far in *Germany*: Besides my Lord Ambassador notwithstanding any denial shall sweare that the party is made and tyed already, and so the *Moscovit* shall have a brave time of it in *Poland*. If these savages cry out, that the most eminent among mortals is the cunning'st among mortals, and that he caus'd the *Moscovit* to lose his repaite before *Smolensko* where they were beaten like so many dogs which made them part with two Provinces, and make a dishonorable Peace; If they add that the Turk will attempt nothing on *Poland* because of the knowledge the Gran Signor hath of the generosity of that invincible King, then my Lord Ambassador shall withdraw, for fear he receive some affront.

We do not judge it necessary that my Lord Ambassador go back to *Buda* to treat with the Bascha, to make him surprise some places in *Hungary*, his Predecessor having had his head chopt off for having enterpriz'd some things against the intentions of the great Turk, and for receiving the moneys we sent him; It may be feared that he who commands at present may command two of his Janizaries to put my Lord Ambassador on his back and to give him an hundred stroaks with a Bulls pizzle upon his belly, as Monsieur de *Saney* was us'd in *Constantinople* for a peece of roguery he did. Besides we hope the great Turk will break the peace with *Poland*, and the truce with the Emperour, to which purpose we have employ'd Monsieur de *Thou* to *Constantinople*, whither he hath caried provision to make that great Army the Turke hath at Sea to descend into *Sicily* and *Naples*, or to *Malta*; he hath also in charge to interpose for a peace 'twixt the Turk and the *Persian*, and to unite them if he can that they may destroy Christendom.

We leave it to the discretion of my Lord Ambassador whether he see the Vayvod of *Transylvania*, but if he resolve to go thither, he shall represent unto him that the whole earth wonders that he attempts nothing against the Emperour, he shall exhort him to imitat his predecessor the valiant *Bethlen Gabor*, and tell him that all the good Houses of France have his pourtrait in their Galleries, with that of the King of *Swed*, and that his Highnes should do well to send also his in doing

some act of courage; If he say that he hath an alliance with the Emperour, and friendship with *Hungary*, and that for a Picture he will not hazard the Originall, in this case the Lord Ambassador is to withdraw himself handsomly.

Then shall he enter *Tartary* where 'tis probable we shall manage our business better; because that people know us not so well, which they are fitter for our turn; in regard they place all right, in Armes as we have hitherto done: That they stay not long in one place, like the most Eminent of mortals, my Lord Ambassador shall go visit *Chamocublay* the great *Cham*; wheresoever he be. He shall not wonder at that faire Palace of Marble, Porphyry, and Jasper which hath half a league in every corner; He shall esteem it, but not in such a manner but that his Eminence hath Houses which approach in some kind those of *Cambalu*: Above all things the Duke of *Sabin* shall take heed that he pull off his hat very low before the great *Cham*; he must remember that *Dracula* caus'd three Turbans to be nail'd to the Turks Ambassadors heads; which drive their Embassie out of their braines. He shall tell the gran *Cham* that the most eminent among mortals is desirous to keep good quarter and correspondence with him, and so shall present unto him his Credentiaall Letters; and that 'tis fitting his great *Tartarian* greatnes should do some gallant thing, the Field being now open for him in regard of the Cowardise of the *Transylvanian*; and the affairs of *Poland* with the *Swed*, and of the troubles 'twixt the Emperour and some of his Vassals, in so much that 'tis easie to invade the estates of these three Princes, as also to restrain the Turk whom we have a long time engag'd in armes against the Christians. If the gran *Cham*, who is a Christian though of the Greek Church, doth imagine that by this last article we are enemies to *Iesus Christ*, the Duke of *Sabin* must endeavour to perswade him; that Religion is but the Republiques servant, and 'twill be expedient to translate for him a book entituled the *Catholic of State* compos'd by Monsieur *Ferrier*; if he beleeve it not, then the Ambassadour shall labour to gain by promise of vast sums the Governors of the twelve Provinces who are the principall Counsellors, and represent unto them that they are within a Countrey too subject to thunder, snows, and sudden changes; in so much that oft times one shall feel the foure seasons of the yeer in one only day; whereas in *Hungary* and *Austria* there is for the most part a pleasant temperature; and that excellent Wines grow there.

In regard that the most eminent among mortals hath a curious spirit, and that he desires all the rarities of the world to embellish his House, Gardens and courts, the Ambassador shall procure from some Garden in *Tartary* the Plant *Boraneth*; which is like a sheep; and eats round about him all the herbs and grasse, so that there may be no need of a Gardener to make clean the circle of his Courts: And that would serve for an excellent Emblem; to shew what his Eminence hath done to all his neighbours in *Richelieu*, *Paris* and other places: He is also desirous to find out all the strange Birds and animals that

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can be had, being resolv'd to make a faire lower court in the Horse Market, which he hath clos'd within *Paris*, together with the Suburbs of Saint *Honoré*, which hath cost the public at least a million of gold: The Ambassador shall also cause a good number of those Tartarian Hens to be bought, which in lieu of feathers are cover'd with black skins, and lay certain egges which are purgatif, whereof his *Eminence* hath much need to mitigate his heat, and cleanse the ordures of his blood.

When the Lord Ambassadour shall have taken order for all these rarities, he shall embarque himself for *Cambalu*, to go for *China*, he shall stay a while to observe the stupendous wall that is twixt Her and *Tartary*; he shall take all the dimensions of the wall very exactly, and send a survey thereof to his *Eminence*; that, if need be, he may raise such another in his Kingdom of *Austrasia*; and that, having already in his hands all the Ports and Havens of France, he may also erect such a wall from *Calais* to *Bayon*, and because he may want no workmen, he hath a purpose to employ all those that shall be found to speak ill of him to finish the work.

Then the Lord Ambassadour shall embark himself upon the great Chancel that goes to *Pegu*, the chief City of *China*, and so shall send notice of his arrivall to the Emperour: In his audience he shall entitle him, *Son to Apollo, a Lion crown'd in the throne of the world, and King of thirty two Realmes*: He shall say that of that people whom they call *Caffres*, or *Spaniards*, attempting to ravish him of these faire Titles, and having the *Lion* in his Scutcheon, the most eminent among mortals not enduring that this wrong should be done his Majesty, sends to offer him his power; and to propose him a way how to be reveng'd upon the *Caffres* in the East and West *Indies*, specially to take from them their Mines of gold and sylver.

Having visited all the Kings of the East, my Lord Ambassadour shall return by the road which *Alexander* the Great took to enter into the *Indies*: And in regard the most eminent among mortals is very curious in moveables and other exquisite things for the adornment of his Houses, my Lord Ambassadour shall procure what may be possibly had for that service; He must try whether in the ancient Town of *Taxila*; there be left any old peeces of *Porus* made by *Zeuxis*, *Apelles*, *Polignot*, or *Euphranor*: He shall endeavour also to bring some of those savage Asses that are neer the River *Hyphasis*, which have a horn in the forehead, that his *Eminence* may make his entry upon one of them into his Kingdom of *Austrasia*, and then put her to breed in his stables at *Mirebalais*: He shall also endeavour to enchant by Scarlet colour, and letters of gold certain Dragons, which are in that Countrey, and to that effect he shall carry that robe of red Sattin embroder'd with gold, which the Cardinal of *Lion* wore, then, when he beleev'd himself to be God the Father: If we had a dozen of those Dragons we might draw a great advantage for the security of his *Eminencies* Person, because they say that in their heads there be certain stones found like that

that which made *Gyges* invifible. The Lord Ambaffadour fhall inform himfelf alfo at *Paruca*, if the Inhabitants do yet underftand the Language of Beafts, which would be advantagious to his *Eminence* becaufe he daily hears multitudes whom he hath transform'd to fimple animals.

My Lord Ambaffadour fhall be carefull to informe himfelf of the Indian *Brachmans*, and know whether they are fuch great Magicians as they are reported to be; If they are fo, he fhall confer with them, and learn of them, which way to turn thofe ftrong places his *Eminence* holds into enchanted Castles, if he be constrain'd to retire to any of them; To this purpofe he fhall learn what were the enchantments of thofe Philofophers who overcame the *Egiptians* when they affaulted them, and made them leave behind them up and down the Rocks the pourtrait of their ill-favour'd faces, ugly beards, and double nayles.

If the Lord Ambaffadour finds that he cannot do our bufinefs with thefe kind of Philofophers becaufe they are too auftere & peaceful, he fhall find out another Sect call'd the *Oxidraques*, who are Philofophers which ufe to difcompofe the humours of men, and make them rufh out every where into war, fuch are moft fit for our purpofe; If my Lord Ambaffadour cannot dive into their myfteries, he muft deboufh one of them, and promife to make him compaignon of the Reverend Father *Jofeph*, who is already vers'd in fome of the Maximes of this goodly Society, and ufeth to fow war every moneth, that he may gather fomething all the yeer long.

He muft alfo make an exact research for the curious books of *Me-tagenes*, wherein he teacheth how to compound a beuverage whereby to make a judiciary Aftrologer, and take the Circle of the feven Planets, which knowledge would be very ufefull for the *moft eminent among mortals* to forefee what will become of him, and to be able the better to prevent his enemies; for the Europæan Aftrologers have coufen'd him in divers prædiction, fpecially in that of the ruine of the Houfe of *Auftria*, and in the tranflation of the Empire; They had alfo affur'd him that in fuch a yeer he fhould be Pope, and in fuch a yeer King of *Auftrafia*.

The Lord Ambaffadour fhall try to get the Beaft *Marticora* which is of a red colour, and hath the head of a man lancing out fharp prickles from behind: The *ſpirit which moves the ftars* fhall take this for his Creft.

The Lord Ambaffadour fhall not faile to enquire if it be poffible to recover the pourtrait of the Great *Talamoque*, or that huge Galeaffe, which the *Egiptiens* ſent two thouſand yeers ſince to the Indian Seas, becaufe the *moft eminent among mortals* would build the like, having already cut down a good part of the Forefts of Britany, to make ſuch an Engine that may be able to cruſh the Englifh Ships, by being higher deck'd then the tops of their Maſts; It ſhall be call'd the Great *Armand*, which ſhall be able to ſwallow all the Bottomes on the Ocean: whereon the Picture of the *moft eminent among mortals* ſhall

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be put, who cannot live but amongst waves, amongst troubles and tossings and tumblings, besides he fears nothing more then the earth.

Then shall the Lord Ambassadour passe by the *Persian Gulph*, and then to the red Sea, and so through the Deserts of *Lybia*, he shall enter into Egypt, and so advance to Ethiopia to see *Prester John*; He shall endeavour to perswade him that he being of the Race of the Q. of *Sheba*, he ought to have a curiosity to come to hear the wisdom of the most eminent among mortals, who knows more then *Solomon*.

If my Lord Ambassadour passe by *Fex* and *Morocco*, he shall endeavour to incite them also against the Spaniard.

When his Excellence the Duke of *Sabin*, Ambassadour extraordinary for the most eminent among mortals to all the Great Monarques of the World, shall be return'd to Christendom, he shall advertise all Princes as he passeth along, that his Eminence is resolv'd there shall be no Peace in *Europe*, specially twixt *France* and the House of *Austria* (howsoever that there may be a way given for Treaties to amuse the world) untill both parties become equall in power, therefore as he shall passe through Italy, the foresaid Lord Ambassadour shall procure one of those Scales wherein *Cosmo de Medici* balanc'd all the Princes of the Western World, for the most eminent among mortals intends to do the like most exactly, and weigh every State to the least grain, &c.

This was the substance of the rambling Instructions that were given the *Chymericall* Ambassadour, which kept more noise in Christendom then any thing that ever was written of him; Another compares him to *Hercules*, and the Q. Mother to *Juno*, whose animosity put *Hercules* to quell Monsters, and perform his twelve labours, which were held impossibilities in others; At Sea *Hercules* himself did not so many feats as he, for being High Admiral, his Galeon the great *Armand* broak often through his pillers; He rays'd every day new tempests, wherein *Dolphin*-like he lov'd to tumble and sport, and by this restless humour of motion, he drive his Master into a vast Ocean of trouble and danger, his sayles having no other wind to fill them but ambition, and ayrie hopes of honor; And while he labour'd thus to have his great Masters name and his own, to fill future story, some doubt, whether they were not expung'd out of the *Book of life*; in regard they pass'd to their last Port through a *Red Sea*, the one a young man upon the matter (being but 42.) the other not old, (being but 57.) and the reason may be drawn out of the Sacred Text, *That the bloud-thirsty man shall not see half his dayes.*

This Sanguinary humor in him, was futable to the colour of his habit; which more incited, and præcipitated the French and others his Confederats to Armes; as we read it to be the custom of the Indians, to present Scarlet colours, and other bloody red objects before

fore their Elephants, to make them more furious when they are employ'd in the wars : This made him turn the very dust to soldiers as he pass'd, and make swarms follow him, as well for the colour of his coat, as also for that holines which some held to be inhærent in it. I will conclude all kind of Satyrs of him with these Latin ones, which may be *instar omnium*, for they give a shrewd Character both of his nature, his actions, and of his whole life ; and tis in forme of an Epitaph, and penn'd by one of the prime wits under that Clime.

Primum quod a te postulo, Viator, est, ut Deum opt : max : laudes, quod hæc in Gallia securus leges : Deinde miraberis tantillo spacio claudi mortuum, quem Terra non capiebat vivum : Illam ubi commovit, cælum movere voluit is, qui hoc symbolum sibi arrogavit Mens sydera volvit : Ut intelligas qualis hæc Intelligentia fuerit, industria fuit sagaci, sed inquieta, pacis publica, & propria tranquillitatis hostis : In magno, quod plurimi suspexerint, Ingenio, magnam pauci familiares deprehenderunt mixturam dementia : Animum ejus ladebant omnia, sanabat nihil : Potentissimi Regis, non tam benevolentia, quam auctoritate diu stetit, Rerum exitu, non consiliorum prudentia felix : Dei solius infelix indignatione, cum turpibus morbis perpetuo conflictatus, locum ignoravit felicitatis, quam sua & aliorum infelicitate querebat : nunquam sibi visus beatus, ut nec iis probus qui beatum nuncupabant : Utrique bili, vita carnificibus, obnoxius, flavos ignes, at aras fulgines continuo passus est, sic venenum quod in aliorum perniciem effudit, non sine sua continuit : Supra omnes Mortales ambitione laboravit, supra plurimos avaritia ; Regia pecunia prodigus, aliena parcus : Crudelis offensus, ubi offenderat crudelior extitit. Regia Matris beneficiis ditatus, curis promotus, & potestate potentior factus, illam gratiâ regis, libertate, bonis, Galliâ, ac demum extorrem Colonia vitâ privavit : ne mortue parceret, supremas ejus voluntates rescindi, et insepultum cadaver per quinque menses, post quos et Ipse extinctus est, in cubiculo relinqui voluit : Fratris Regis dignitatem violavit, & personam opprimere studuit : Non solum a Matre filium, a fratre fratrem, sed ab uxore virum aliquando avertit ; Marillacum cum summa injuria, Montmorentium summo jure, Saint Marcum jure cum injuria, Thuanum vel jure vel injuria capite plecti voluit : Magnates aliquot carcere perpetuo, plures exilio damnavit, multos ab Aula removit, innumeros proscripsit ne ipsius consiliis obessent ; nec unquam mitis Gallia tam frequentia supplicia vidit : Magni Regis, quem magno studio decepit, nixus potentia, & sæcundi Regni opibus adjutus, infinitas sagittas perdidit, ut scopum præcipuum, a quo aberavit, attingeret : Aliquos exitus secundos insanis conatibus pepererunt mentis actio vel agitatio continua, projecta est omnia tentans mentis audacia, & rigida severitas ; Brevis evertendus si inter hostes externos aliquos cautiore, & inter aversos Gallos ferè omnes, vel adversarium unum invenisset : Multum illi favit, quod eum vix quis noverit, vel iis, qui noverant, crediderit : Adeo fortunatus, ut qui illi insensierant nobiles, & milites, pro illius gloria suum & alienum funderent sanguinem, dum ille regio jungeret suum : In quo consilio Sejanus perit, & ipse perierat, nisi Sois-
nensem

nensem Regium principem sustulisset : Tam noxia potestatis vestigia, integro seculo, Germania, Hispania, Italia, Belgium, sed maximè Gallia vix delebunt : Et Civium et vicinorum miseriis voluptatem captans ; ut istis capillos velleret, illorum viscera laniaret : Nec Regis sui sacre valetudini aliquid indulsit, illam agitavit, dum suam exhaustis curis & vario animi pathemate : Illi primo divina nemesis brachium corrupit, quod contra cælum tetenderat, mox abstulit usum Dextra, quæ bellis ultro illatis subscripserat ; illud ostio ante obitum mensibus computruit, unde hæc exaruit : Quod dolendum, qui Deum ita Vindicem sensit, non agnovit : Id ex eo con-
 jice, quod furorem in hostes privatos ardentius exercuit : Quod imminente morte, politica magis prudentia, quam Christiana pietate, plus suos Regi, quam se Deo Comendavit : Quod paucis diebus ante vitæ tragica catastrophen, excogitavit a se fabulam, quam Europam triumphantem vocabat, exhiberi regia magnificencia voluit, non tamen spectare potuit : Quod Ecclesiam afflixit Cardinalis, sanguinem effudit Sacerdos, nullas injurias condonavit Christianus, nec Homo meminerit se esse mortalem, etiam cum ebullientes e multis ulceribus vermes admonerent, quam fragili, & fatida corruptioni obnoxius esset : Ubi omnibus viis etiam impiis per 18. annos, ad privatam, dispendio publici, cucurrit finem, ad communem hominum, placida in speciem morte, sed multis quos præmisit, tardiore, tandem pervenit : Fato functus est Lutetia ante 57. cum tribus mensibus : Galliam & Domum deserens, utramque incendere velle visus est, illam extorta in Regis fratrem declaratione, istam ad placitum fœmina condito testamento : Cæterum nec unquam dives Gallia tantum homini contulit, nec alium Natura satis impatiens tam diu pertulit, nec pacis amans, mortuum ullum tam hilariter extulit ; Hæc palam assero, quæ tu clam suspicatus es sapiens Viator : si quem adhuc dubitantem invenis, roga, ne deceptis vel corruptis adulato-
 ribus credat, sed mihi, vera ex intimis sincerisque promenti. Omnes verò Mortales, ut sibi persuadeant, velim, plus apud Deum valere justitiam vel minimam, quam potestatem maximam, nec æstimandam tam latè diffusam, famam, sed bonam : Multa turbare non esse multum agere, turbata compo-
 nere plus esse, ne turbentur impedire plurimum esse : Fulgur felicia scelera pro virtutibus ducit, tu contra, nihil infelicius felici scelere cogita : Fran-
 dum egregius Artifex Richelius, plurimos ad momentum decepit, forte se-
 ipsum in perpetuum : Heu, Univerſa, quæ miscuit, non rediget in ordinem, qui pacem quæ cum illius ingenio turbulento non conveniebat, etiam fortunæ suæ non convenire credebat. Inde tot mala quæ Christianum Orbem a 15.
 annis affligerunt : Ora ne sit Deus vindex æternus in authorem, qui magna misericordiâ multisque miserationibus in magnis, multisque criminibus indi-
 gebat : Tu Hospes Christiane serò perpende quam nihil sit quicquid momen-
 to præterit ; Nemo ex istis quos purpuratos vides ex hoc ipso felix est, non
 magis quam ex illis quibus sceptrū & chlamydem in scena fabulæ assignant,
 cum præsentī populo elati inceserunt, et corburnati simul exierunt, excalce-
 arunt, & ad staturam suam redeant : Adde parvus cinis modo est, qui
 magnus Ignis fuit, teter fumus nunc est, qui nuper coruscans splendor om-
 nium oculos perstringebat : Utinam non et fax illi in alio sit orbe, qui in
 hoc Europæ fuit ; Hæc jam pacem, extincto bellorum fomite, speras ; Hor-
 tarer

rarer te Viator, ut tanto pacis etiam sua dum viveret, hosti pacem precareris, nisi vereretur, ne illi molestus esses rem quam oderat illi apprecando; precare tamen quia juberis inimicos deligere: si ad illum non pervenerit pax, ad te revertetur: sic imperat Christus, in quo vive pacificus, ut in Illo placide conquiescas. Interim vale.

This Epitaphicall Invective being a kind of Character of the whole man and a Legend of his life, I thought worthy of rendring into English, for the conciseness and weight of the style.

First, O Passenger, I desire thee to praise Almighty God that thou mayst read this securely in France: Then admire, that he is coop'd up in so narrow a compasse, now dead, whom living, the whole Earth could scarce contain: when he mov'd Her, he also shook the Heavens, arrogating to himself this Motto, *Mens sydera volvit*: That thou mayst know what an *Intelligence* this was; He was in point of industry sagacious, but turbulent; being an Enemy both to the publique peace and his own: In that great wit, which nevertheless some suspected, some of his Familiars observ'd a great mixture of madness: All things puzzled his mind, nothing settled it: He stood so long, not so much by the love of his great Master, but by authority, being more fortunat for the successe of things, then solidity of counsell: unhappy onely in the wrath of God, being perpetually attended with foule diseases; He was subject to both Cholers the tormenters of mans life, black and yellow; so the poyson which he disgorg'd for others ruine, was felt by himself: He was ambitious above all men, covetous above most, prodigall of the Kings money, and sparing of his own: when cross'd, he was cruell, and more, when he intended to crosse: Being enrich'd by the Queen Mothers benefits, promoted by her care, and made potent by her power, he deprived Her both of the Kings grace, of her liberty, goods, and of France it self, and at last of life at *Colen* where she died an exile: He spar'd her not after death, but rescinded her last will, and kept her body five moneths after above ground in her chamber: He violated the Kings brothers honor, and sought to oppresse his Person; He separated not only Mother from Son, brother from brother, but wife from husband: He caus'd *Marillac* to be chop'd off by extreme wrong, *Monmorency* by extreme right, *Saint Marc* by right and wrong, and *de Thou* by right or wrong: Some Nobles he condemn'd to perpetuall imprisonment, he banish'd more, he drive most of them from Court, he proscrib'd numbers lest they might crosse his Counsells, mild France never saw so frequent punishments: the restless activity or agitation of his mind, his projecting and all-daring boldnes, and his severe rigidity produc'd some prosperous successes by such furious endeavours: How easily had he fallen, if amongst his forren foes he had met with some more cunning, or but with one amongst his own Countrey men: It much advantag'd him, that any scarce knew him, or that he gave credit to any that did know him; He was so fortunat, that those Nobles,

and

and Commanders who mislik'd him, spent their own and others bloud, while he joynd his with the Kings: In the same Counsell *Sejanus* fell, had he also fallen, had he not tane away the Royall Prince *Soissons*: The prints of so destructive a power, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, but France principally will scarce deface in a whole Age: He took pleasure in his own Countrey mens and his Neighbours miseries, that he might pluck the hairs of the one, and teate the entrails of the other: Neither was he tender of the Sacred health of his King, which he shook while he exhausted his own by cares, and various anxieties of mind: The Divine vengeance first corrupted his arm which he had lifted up against heaven, then he lost the use of his right hand, which had subscrib'd so many bloody warrants, the one purtrified in eight moneths, the other dried away: And, which is a fearefull thing, he who thus felt the revengefull hand of God, did scarce acknowledge him, which may be infer'd out of this, because he exercis'd his fury more eagerly upon his privat enemies: And that upon the point of death by Politicall prudence rather then Christian piety he recommended his own to the King, more then himself to God: besides a few dayes before the catastrophe of his tragic life, he would have a Play acted of his, call'd *Europa Triumphans* in Royall magnificence though he himself could not be at it: Moreover he afflicted the Church being a Cardinal, he shed bloud being a Priest, he never forgat injuries being a Christian, he scarce thought himself mortall being a man, although those foule wormes which issued out of his ulcers might have warn'd him to what a fraile and fætid corruption he was subject unto: Having by all, even impious means run to his own privat ends for eighteen yeers, at last he came to the common end of mankind by a gentle death in shew, and slower far then was wish'd: He expir'd at *Paris*, where he was born, being 57. yeers and odd moneths old: Now leaving France, and his own House, he seem'd to have a will to set both on fire, the one by extorting a Declaration against the Kings brother, the other, by making his last Will at the will of a woman: Never did plentifull France bestow upon any one so much, nor, being somewhat impatient by nature, did she endure any one longer; neither, being a lover of peace, did she ever cary any one to his grave more joyfully: Discreet Passenger this I openly avouch, which thou haply doest privatly suspect. If thou meetst with any yet doubting, entreat him, that he give no credit to flatterers either corrupted or deceived, but to me deriving truth from its true source: But I would have all mortals beleeve, that with God the least dram of Justice prevailes more then an Ocean of Greatnesse, nor is true Fame esteem'd by the exteit but by the goodnesse. That to embroyle many things, is not to do much, 'tis more, to compose troubles, and more then that, to prevent they may not happen: The Vulgar give the names of vertues, to lucky villanies, but be thou of another mind, and think nothing more unhappy, then fortunat mischiefs: *Richelieu* the egregious Artist of fraud, deceiv'd many for a

time, but himself haply for ever: Alas, what he hath shatter'd, can never be put again in order; who thought that Peace which was contrary to his nature, was not convenient for his fortunes; hence issued all those mischiefs which have afflicted the Christian world so many years: pray, that God avenge not himself on the author, who wanted mercy in so many great crimes: O Christian stranger do thou seriously consider, what a nothing 'tis; what passeth away in a moment, none of those whom thou beholdest purpled all over, are happy in that, no more then those that a stage assigns a Scepter or stately Robes unto; with the spectators they likewise go out; are unbuskin'd, and return to their old stature: *Seneca*. Behold what a few ashes he makes, who was so huge a fire, he is become now a black smoak, who lately like a cōfucant lampe dazled all eyes: God grant he be not a firebrand to himself in the other world; who was such a one to poore *Europe*; which hath hopes of Peace, now, that the tinder is spent: I could wish thee, O passenger, wish peace to so great an enemy of peace, even to his own; while he lived, if I feared not that thou wouldst do him an ill office, to wish him that which he most detested: yet pray, because thou art commanded to love thine enemies, if peace go not to him, it will return to thee: So Christ commands, in whom live peacefully, that thou mayst rest in him eternally: In the interim farewell.

There is another which draws neerer to the nature of an Epitaph of as pressing and ponderous a style as this, but not falling so heavily upon him.

Adsta Viator, quod properas?
Quod nusquam videbis aut audies heic legitur,
Armandus Johannes de Plessis Cardinalis de Richelieu,
Clarus origine, magnus ingenio, fortuna Eminentissimus,
Quodque mirere,
Sacerdos in Castris, Theologus in Aula, Episcopus sine plebe,
Cardinalis sine titulo, Rex sine nomine, Unus tamen omnia:
Naturam habuit in numerato, fortunam in Consilio,
Aerarium in peculio, securitatem in bello, victoriam sub signis,
Socios in praeinctu, Cives in servitute,
Amicos in obsequio, inimicos in carcere,
Hoc tamen uno miser, quod omnes miseros fecit,
Tam seculi sui tormentum, quam ornamentum,
Galliam subegit, Italiam terruit, Germaniam quassavit,
Afflixit Hispaniā, coronavit Bragantiā, cepit Lotharingiam,
Accepit Cataloniam, fovit Sueciam, truncavit Flandriam,
Turbavit Angliam, lussit Europam.
Poeta purpuratus,
Cui scena Mundus, gloria stiparium, Regia gazā Choragium fuit,
Tragicus maxime quam fabulam male solvit.
Post Regnum Testamento suis distributum, paupertatem populo imperatam,
Diffipatos

*Diffipatos Principes, Nobilitatem supplicis exhaustam,
Senatum autoritate spoliatum; exteræ gentes bello & incendiis vastatos,
Pacem terræ marique profligatam;
Cum fatifcente corpore, animum gravioribus consiliis ægrè vegetaret
Et nullius non interesset ipsum aut vivere aut mori,
Famque bona sui parte mortuus, aliorum tantum morte viveret,
Derepente spirare desit et timeri.*

O fluxa Mortalitat is !

Quàm tenue momentum est inter Omnia et nihil ?

Mortui corpus rheda extulit,

Secuti Equites; peditesque magno numero.

Faces prætulērunt Ephebi, crucem nemo, quia currus publicam ferebat :

Denique hunc tumulum implet non totum,

Quem tota Europa non implebat.

Inter Theologos situs ingens disputandi argumentum,

Quo migravit sacramentum est.

Hæc te, Lector, volui, hæc te metire,

Et abi.

Stay Passenger, where hastne' st thou ?

Here may' st Thou read what thou shalt see, nor hear any where els :

Armand John du Pleffis Cardinal of Richelieu,

Noble by descent, great in wit, most eminent in fortune,

And, what thou may' st admire,

A Priest in the field, a Divine at Court, (name,

A Bishop without Cure, a Cardinal without Title, a King without

Yet, One, who was all these :

He had Nature in all her numbers, Fortune in his Counsels, (banner,

The Royall treasure in possession, Security in war, Victory under his

He kept his Confoederats in compasse, his Countrey men in servitude,

His Friends at a distance, his Enemies in prison,

In this only wretched, that he made all men so,

Being as well the torment, as the ornament of his times.

He subdued France, he scar'd Italy, he shook the Empire,

He afflicted Spain, he crown'd Bragantia, he took Lorain,

He accepted of Catalonia, he fomented Swethland, he maim'd Flanders,

He troubled England, he cousten'd all Europe :

A purpled Poet, (ring-house:

Whose stage was the world, glory his curtain, the Exchequer his ty-

His subject for the most part tragicall, to w^{ch} he put an il Catastrophe:

Having turn'd the Kingdom to Legacies, bequeath'd poverty to the

(people,

Diffipated the Princes, exhausted the Nobility with punishments,

Bereft the Parlement of power, destroy'd other Nations with fire and

driven away Peace by Sea, and Land; (sword,

His

His body now fainting, his mind not recreable for restless thoughts,
 when it concern'd every one that he should live or die,
 Being already mortified a good part, and living only in others death,
 He suddenly ceas'd to breath, and to be fear'd:

O the frail things of mortality!

What a small moment is there, 'twixt something and nothing?
 The corps was caried in a Chariot, horse and foot follow'd in great
 (numbers,

Pages caried Torches, none the Crosse, for the Chariot caried the
 In fine he hardly fill'd up his grave, (public Crosse:
 Whom all *Europe* could not fill:

He lies among the *Sorbonists*,
 Of dispute a mighty argument;
 And where he is gone, 'tis a Sacrament:
 Reader, this is all, I would have with thee,
Hereby measure thy self, and be gone.

Thus was this great man the subject of every mans censure, a thing incident and inevitable to all Favorits, and Minions of Princes, *who like wooden popagayes fastned upon high poles, are marks for every one to shoot at*; they are expos'd to unfavory, as well as to sweet breaths, to rough blasts; as to gentle brizes: But our Cardinal had taken such deep rooting in his Masters heart, that for many yeers no crosse-winds, though never so impetuous and violent, were able to shake him: Add hereunto that he strongly fortified himself by alliances, and had in his hands the tenablest places of *France*, by Sea and Land; So that he seem'd to be like a tree planted upon the Mount *Olympus*, transcending all meteorologicall impressions, and those frog-vapors, and malignant ayres which use to hover in the *lower* Regions, and if there hung any, his Masters countenance, like the Orient Sun, would presently dispell them.

Considering, as the world knows, a directing minister of *State* was requisite in *France*, certainly the King could not light upon a more idoneous instrument, for he was cut out for a States-man, his brain was alwayes at work, and his thoughts still grinding something; his counsels were *oracles*, and his desseins *mysteries*, till put in execution, and then they turn'd to *exploits* most commonly: He was not only *wise* but *politic*; Now, *wisdome* and *policy* (as it is taken in these times) though they both agree in their *ends*, yet they differ in the *means* conducing to attain their *ends*; the first goes the plain direct high road, the other useth now and then some odd by-paths: Never any brought the principles of policy, which are generall and confus'd, to a greater certainty; they are easily prescrib'd, but practis'd with more difficultie then those of any other Art; The *Navigator* directed by his Compasse is sure to come at such a height, and arrive to such a Port: the *Mathematician* can exemplifie, and really demonstrate the truth of any of his principles; The *Architect* by his Model and instruments can
 exactly

exactly (having materials accordingly) raise such an edifice ; The *Musician* scruing up his strings to such a height, is sure to hit upon such a tune ; The *Physitian* knowing the vertue and operation of his drugs, is sure they will restringe or purge, open or obstruct ; It is not so with the *Polititian* , who though he adapt and apply his principles never so dextrously, yet he cannot assure himselfe of the effects: which must be imputed to the world of contingencies, obstacles, and unexpected accidents which use to attend the negotiations of men, specially matters of State, and War: yet this great Minister brought them to as much certitude as could be ; In so much, that before the breach with *Spain*, he was us'd to say, that *the Almighty and irresistible hand of heaven was only able to ranverse his desseins, not any humane power* ; And it prov'd true, for the *Austrian* tree (which was the ayme of all his policies) was never so shaken: nor *France* never so secur'd, so that take the Theoric, and Practic part of policy together, *Olivares* & *Oxenstern* his contemporaries, yea *Machiavil* himself (taking him in the best sence) had he bin living, might have bin his apprentices. And it was the more easie for him to bring such things to passe, in regard that he had the power of disposing all things entire and so concentred in himself, that he met with no opposition, with no crosse counsels or contestation ; for the King had resign'd not only his power, but his judgement, and all the faculties of his soul unto him alone, nor would he listen to any advis'd him otherwise ; which was no small advantage to the cariage of things, for, though *in the multitude of Counsellors there be safety*, yet, in the conduct of State affaires (specially *Marciall*) wherein *secrecy* and *speed* are so essentially requisit, that they may be said to be the two poles whereon they move, I say, in the tracing and managery of such actions, where oft-times the ball must be ta'en before the bound, too great a number (of Counsellors) is an encomber, and makes the dessein subject to discovery, or delay, to be retarded or reveal'd, and so to miscarry, and misse of the end: yet this solenneesse and singlennesse of counsell may be thus qualified, *Quod fieri debeat, cum multis tracta, quod facturus es, cum paucissimis*. But whereas many cast in his dish, that being a Cardinal, and a Bishop Cardinal too, he was unfit to be a Captain generall, it may be answer'd that 'tis no new thing in the Roman Church, no not in *France* it self, where divers examples may be produc'd: *Arnaud de Pelegrue*, *Clement* the fifts kinsman, being Cardinal, was General of an Army in the yeer 1330. *Andoin de la Roche* Abbot of *Cluny* and Cardinal was the like 1360. The Cardinal of *Alby*, otherwise call'd the Cardinal of *Arras* commanded in Chief the Army of *Lewis* the xj. Nor can *Spain* reproach him of this for Cardinal *Albornoz*, *ximenes*, and *Carvaial*, all three, were Generals for the Kings of *Spain*, and *Charles* the fift employed Cardinal *Pompeo Colonna* often in that nature. And t'other day Cardinal *Ferdinando* this King of Spains brother, was his *Generalissimo* in the *Netherlands*, having fought *Norlinghen* battell in his way. Nay, not only Cardinals, but we read of *Popes* themselves that personally command-

ed their armies in chief, among others *John* the tenth, *Leo* the ninth, *Paschall* the second, *Urban* the second, *Victor* the third, *Lucius* the second, *Innocent* the second, and *Julius* the second.

But of all Cardinals I have read of, our present Cardinal may be most properly compar'd in disposition to *Ximenes* of Spain, and *Wolsey* of England; to the first, for his inclination to war, for Cardinal *Ximenes* was us'd to say, *that Gunpowder gave as sweet an odor in the field, as incense at the altar.* To the second, for his magnitude of mind: *Wolsey* had for his Motto

--- non hac sine numine Divum

Eveniunt. Richelieu had --- mens sydera volvit.

But in magnificence *Wolsey* surpass'd him, 'tis true this late Cardinal had a band of souldiers perpetually attending him, but nothing comparable to the other for domestic attendance; when *Wolsey* was mounting his Mule at *White-hall* gate to go sit at the *Chancery*, the first of his train all along would be by that time at *Westminster Hall*: He went to France with 1000. horse Ambassador, and was Arbitrer of most of the Debates twixt the Emperour and *Francis* the first. *Richelieu* gave his King, his Cardinal-Palace for a gift; *Wolsey*, *Hampton Court* all furnish'd worth foure of the to'ther, a gift as one said, *too great for a Subject to give, and a King to receive.* *Richelieu* repair'd the Colledge of *Sorbon*; erected a few Schooles for reading the Sciences in the vulgar language: built the Cardinal-Palace in Paris, and the Palace of *Richelieu* in the Countrey: *Wolsey* built *Whitehall*, *Hampton Court*, the huge Colledge at *Ipswich*, and *Christ-church* in *Oxford*, the greatest Monuments of that kind in the world; besides a tombe he had intended and three quarterd finish'd for *Henry* the eight his Master at *Winfor*, which, had it been perfected *Europe*, had not had the like, nor would his sonne or any of his two daughters be at the charge of finishing it. And as in magnitude of mind, so in a constancy and fastnesse to himself he sympathiz'd with English *Wolsey*, (who amongst other properties was specially observed for that;) For when his affections fixed upon any thing, he would employ the whole man to compasse it; his mind was like a stone hurl'd into the water which never rest's till it comes to the bottome: So when he desir'd any thing he would leave no stone unstirr'd, (as they say) no wayes untry'd, but he would attain it: A Gentleman of qualitie told me a passage of him, that a Marchant of Paris brought him a jewell of high price to shew and sell, he was so taken with it, that he offerd 50000. crownes for it, the Marchant demanded 15000. more and would not go a peny lesse: A few dayes after the Marchant carrying the jewell to a great Lady to see, was suddenly in some place of advantage surpriz'd, muffled and so unjewell'd: A little after the Marchant going to the Cardinals Secretary upon some other businesse, the Cardinall hearing of his being there, sent for him, and making grievous mone for his jewell, the Cardinal fetch'd out of his Cabinet a box, and drew thence a jewell, and ask'd whether that was his; the Marchant in a kind of amazement answer'd, I dare not say

say 'tis mine, because 'tis in your Eminencies hands, but were in it any other hand I would sweare it were mine : Go, saith he, and keep a better conscience in your dealings hereafter, for I know what this jewell is worth as well as you, and out of that I have offerd you already, you may draw very faire gaines; so he gave order his 50000. crownes should be payd him, and the busines was hush'd up. We draw now to an end, and to bring our Cardinal with a sweet odour to his grave, and take away something of the ill favour of those Epitaphs that went before, we will adde this upon him in Sorbon.

*Monumentum Eminentissimi Cardinalis
Ducis Richelii.*

*Sta Viator ;
Mortale quod habuit Armandus Johannes
Plessæus Cardinalis Dux Richeliius
Hæc deposuit :
Sta, si Gallus es,
Ad Armandi cineres, cujus consiliis stetit Gallia :
Sta; si Confœderatus es,
Ad Cardinalis Monumentum, cujus cardine
Innixa stetit Europa :
Sta, si Hostis es,
Ad Ducis Richelii trophæum, cujus ad nutum
Stetit Oceanus.*

Lege.

*Primum illi beneficium nasci, proximum agnoscere,
Majoribus ornatus, Majorum ornamentum,
Episcopatum dignitate major omnino implevit :
Edoctrum in cælo, ad cælum opera demonstrarunt,
Ad Status Secretariatum erectus est, qui Statum recturus erat,
Regenti Matri adstitit, Regni Pater futurus,
Volente Rege, cogentibus meritis sic Roma purpuram concessit,
Ut dubitare liceat,
An plus Eminentia contulerit purpuræ, quam ab ea retulerit ;
Eminentissimum fecerat prior virtus, quàm Roma :
Ad fulgorem purpuræ fremuit Aquila, rugiit Leo,
Rosa palluit :
Nec potuit purpuram fugere,
Qui, si martyrum insignia non tulisset,
Hostium sanguine tincta ferre potuit, qui tot abstulit :
A Regina matre recessit cum Regina voluit esse,
Non Mater :
Publicæ quietis amator, non fortunæ ;
Odio fuit, quia satis non potuit amari :
Nec in Aula, nec in Oceani fluctibus fluctuavit :*

Rochel.

*Immotus mansit, cujus ad obsequium commota sunt Rupes,**Et sub eo, conspiratione Rebellium cedente,**Respiravit undiq; Religio,**Quæ sine eo passim expiratura videbatur.**Privatos hostes, cum voluit, vicit, Regios semper :**Sic sibi vacans, ut aliis non videretur intentus,**Sic aliis, ut non sibi :**Mirabilia fecit totius Orbis Miraculum,**Felix quod Justo Regi placuerit ;**Felicior, quod ita Regi Regnôq; servierit,**Ut utrumq; servaret :**Tandem, profligato Germano, cæso Hispano,**Pacato Regno,**Sæq; ipso, omnibus majore, victo,**Spretis umbratilibus terræ triumphis**Immarcescibilem a Deo Coronam recepturus excessit,**Incertum relinquens,**An vixerit et rexerit felicius, an obierit sanctius :**Ab Invidia planctum extorsit,**Et, quo præsentem exercuerat, absentem luxit ;**Nec poterat ultra progredi, summum attigerat.**Exuvias mortis Sorbonæ dedit, quo vivo**Sorbona fuerat animata.**In Sorbona quam dilexit, tumultum elegit,**Et in sinu ejus jacera voluit,**Quam jacentem invenit et erexit,**Etiâ Sorbonæ Genium, si jacuisset, solus erecturus :**Debilitatis undiq; Hostibus,**Soli Morti cecidit Mortis Victor, suiq; superstes,**Dum in omnium ore, animoq; vivit :**Ora et Vale.**Obiit iv. Decem. 1642. ætat. 57. & 3. mens :*

The Monument of the most eminent

*Cardinal Duke of Richelieu.**Stay Passenger;*

Armand John du Plessis Cardinal Duke of Richelieu hath deposited here, whatsoever he had of mortalitie: Stay, if thou art French, at his ashes, by whose Counsels France stood; Stay, if thou art a Confederat, at the Cardinals tombe, on whom as upon a hinge all Europe mov'd: Stay, if thou art an Enemy, at the trophy of the Duke of Richelieu, at whose beck the Ocean stood: Read on, His first good was to have a being, his next to have a well-being; As he was adorn'd with Ancestors, so he was an ornament unto them; for his knowledge and actions, the one came from heaven, the other tended towards heaven:

heaven: He was promoted to be Secretary of State, who was afterwards to rule the State; He was assistant to the *Queen Mother*, who was to be the Kingdoms *Father*: The King being willing, and his worth enforcing, *Rome* so granted him the *purple*, that it might be doubted, whether he gave or received more Eminence unto it: His *vertue* made him most eminent, before *Rome*; At the brightnesse of his purple the *Eagle* quak'd, the *Lion* roar'd, the *Rose* grew pale; nor could He avoyd the purple, which had he not worn as ensignes of Martyrs, yet, he might carry them died in the bloud of enemies: He withdrew himself from the *Queen mother*, when she would be more *Queen* then *Mother*; A lover of public Peace, not of fortune. Hated he was, because he could not be lov'd enough: He fluctuated neither at Court, nor in the Ocean floods: He stood immoveable, at whose nod the *Rocks* stirr'd, and under him the conspiracy of Rebels being quash'd, Religion began to respire every where, which without him was ready to expire: he overcame his *own* foes when he list'd, the *Kings* alwaies: He was so vacant to himself, as if he intended nothing else; so intent to others, as he seem'd to neglect himself: being the wonder of his age he did miracles; happy he was that he pleas'd a just King, and happier, that he so serv'd the King and Kingdom that he preserv'd both: At last, the German rout'd, the Spaniard slain, the Kingdom quieted, and having overcome himself the greatest of all, contemning the shadowy triumphs of the earth, being to receive an immarcescible crown of God, he expir'd, leaving it incertain whether he liv'd and rul'd more happily, or died more piously: He wrung teares from *Envie* her self, who pursuing him living, condol'd him dead; He could go no further, he had attain'd the highest: The spoiles of death he gave to *Sorbon*, who living animated *Sorbon*: In *Sorbon* whom he lov'd, he desir'd to lye, and to rest in her bosom whom finding tottering, he took up, nay he only could have reviv'd the Genius of *Sorbon*, had it been like to faint: The foe enfeebled every where, he only yeelded to death, being deaths Conqueror, and Survivour of himself, while he lives in the mouths, and minds of all men. Pray, and farewell.

He died 4th. of December 1642. the 57. yeer, and 3th. moneth of his Age.

This Epitaph gives a full compensation for the tartnes of the two former, which were inserted expressly thereby to enfranchise the judgement of the Reader, to discover the impartiality of the story, and make truth more perspicuous, for it is a good rule in Logic, that *Contraria juxta se posita magis elucescunt*, the confrontation of contraries makes things appear more clearly; I know there is a saying in French, that *vent coulis*, a cranny wind is more hurtfull then an open; such are reproaches twixt prayses; But let not the Authour of this story be mistaken that he intended to derogat (but only for the ends above mentioned) from the merit of so brave a man whom his very

enemies admir'd for his sagacity, and eloquence, for his admirable forecast and penetrating judgement, for the vivacity of his spirit, and quicknes of apprehension, for his assiduity and indefatigable vigilance, for his excellent addresse, and sinewy expressions, and dextrous way of dispatch, for his rare policy and prudentiall parts, and lastly for the stupendous succes of his counsels; These attributes, as it is no *flattery* to give him, so it were *injury* to deny him; By these he made France formidable to the world, he made his Master Arbitrer of his own interests, an Avenger of all affronts, and supporter of his Confederats; by these he got him three *keyes* of invaluable advantage, *Brisack*, *Pignerol*, and *Perpignan*, the first to enter *Germany*, the second *Italy*, the third *Spain* at pleasure; By these he made him the most absolute and independent Monark that ever raign'd in that Kingdom, and freed him from all fears to receive the law from his subjects ever hereafter.

But by ascribing so much to the *Minister*, let us not derogat from the *Master*, who was as active in his way, and concurr'd to achieve all these things; We have an axiom in Philosophy, that *Sol et Homo generant Hominem*; The Sun and man beget man; the one by his Universall influx, being the *fountain of heat*, the other by *Naturall organs*; So we may say the King and Cardinal produc'd all these actions, the one by the influence of his high power and Regall authoritie, the other by his instrumentall activity.

The Cardinal *de Richelieu's* Armes were three *Chevrons* in a field argent; a *plain* and simple coat, therefore the more *ancient*; which Armes, with his Purple *Hat* (which supported that great *Crown*, and made the *Lillies* flourish and swell so many yeers) we will lay upon his Tomb, with this Distic for a finall farewell.

*Aurea purpureo turgebant sceptragalero,
Crescebant triplici Lilia fulta Trabe.*

And now 'tis high time for us to put a period to the whole work, both to the History of this mighty *Monark*, as also to that of his great *Minister*; And though their memory be not like the *Rose*, and other fading flowers, which smell sweeter after they are pluck'd; yet the report of them shall ring in *France*, as long as the rayes of the Sun shall reverberat upon that faire Continent, and albeit Ghirlands of *Olive* be improper for them, yet they deserve to have *Laurels* upon their heads, and *Palmes* of victory in their hands to all posterity.

*Crescet occulto velut Arbor avo
Nomen Armandi; Ludovicus, ingens
Stella, fulgebit velut inter Ignem
Luna minores.*

FINIS.



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